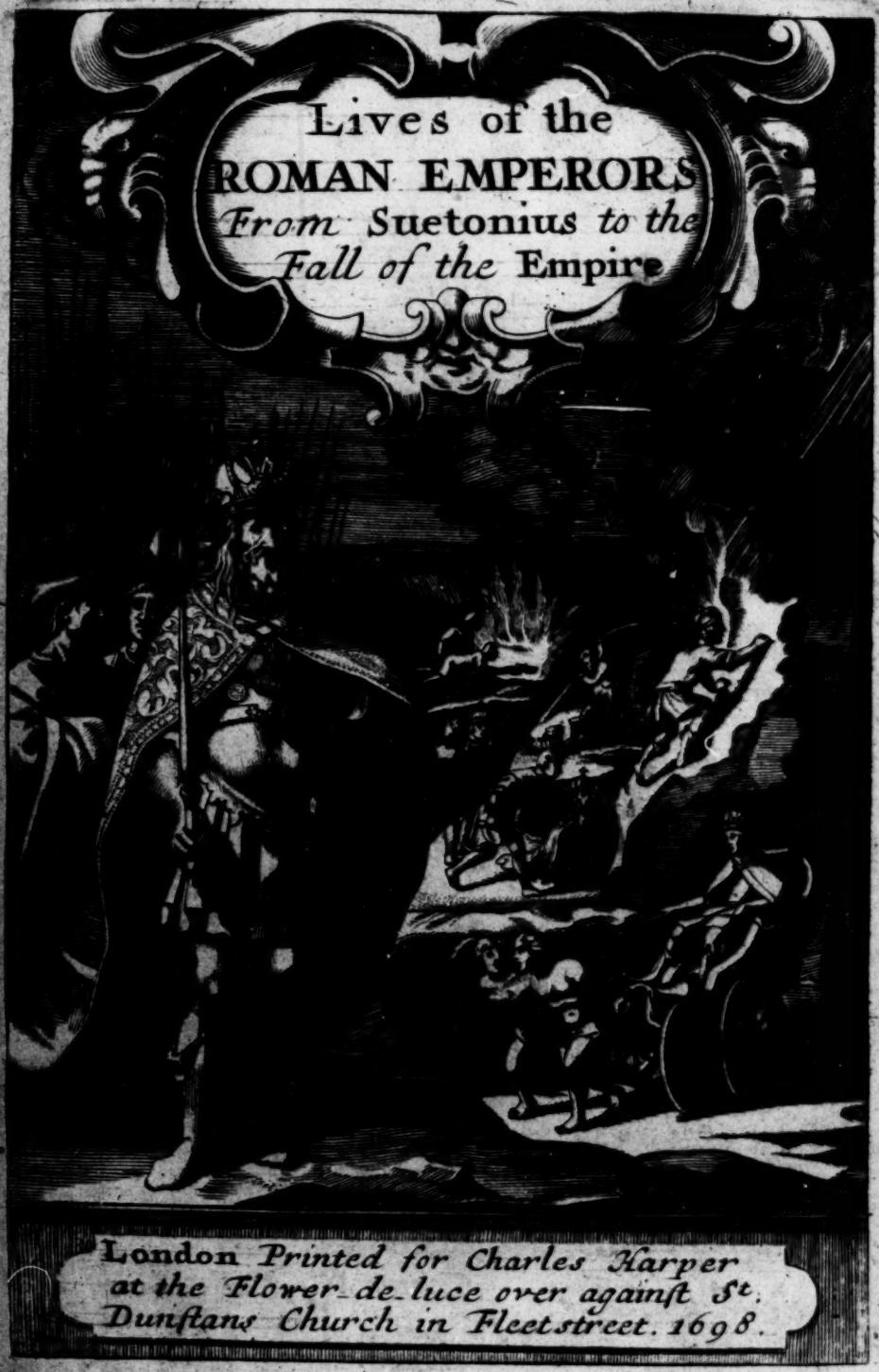
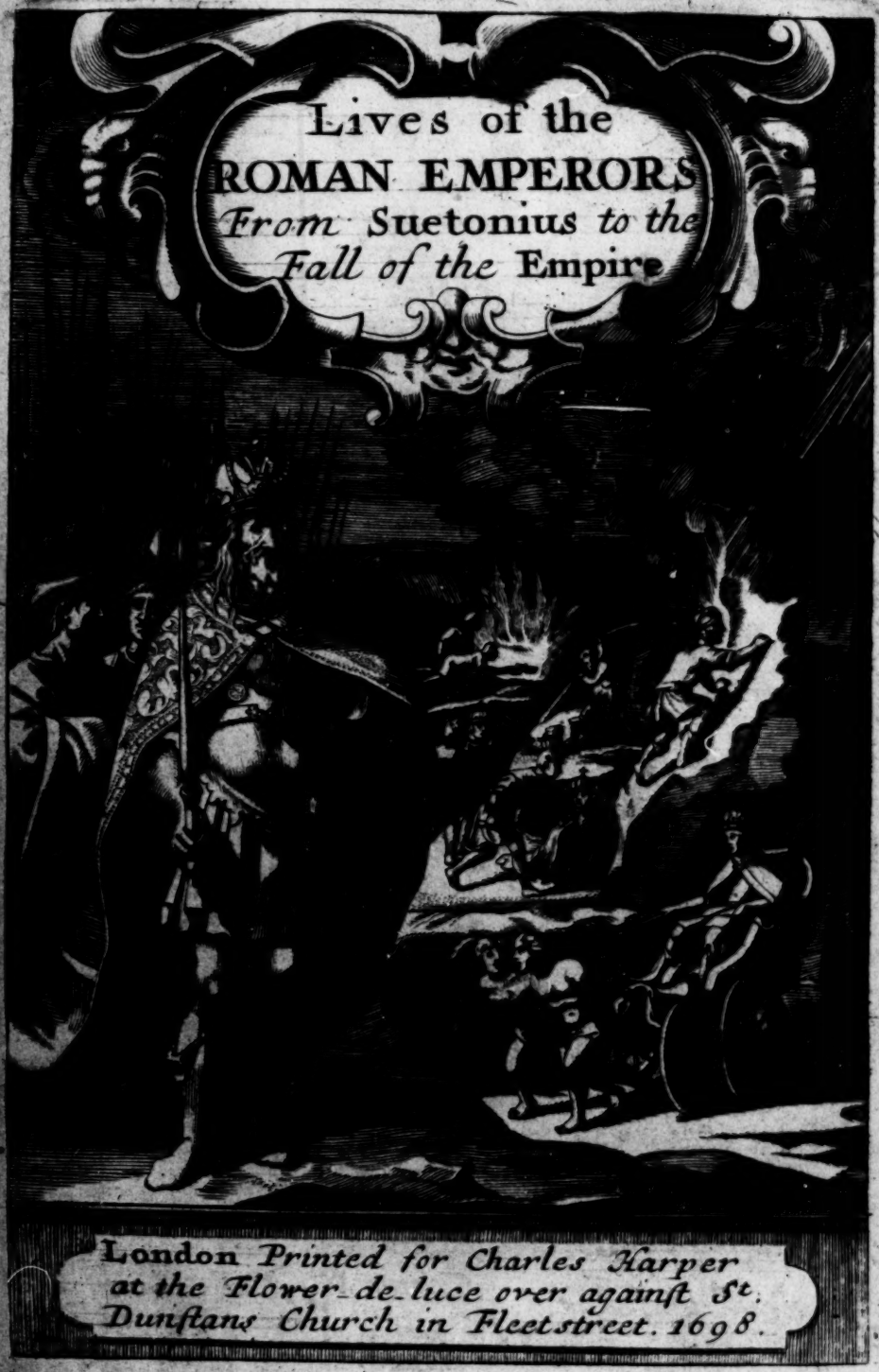

Lives of the
ROMAN EMPERORS
From Suetonius to the
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The LIVES OF THE *Roman* Emperors,

FROM

DOMITIAN, where *Suetonius* Ends,
to the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity,
under CONSTANTINE the Great.

Containing thoſe of

NERVA and TRAIAN, from *Dion Caſſius*;

A Tranſlation of the
Six Writers of the Auguſtean Hiſtory,

And Thoſe of

DIOCLESIAN, and His Aſſociates,
from *Euſebius*, and Others.

WITH THE

Heads of the EMPERORS
in Copper Plates.
Taken from Original MEDALS.

AND A

Chronology, running through the Whole.

By JOHN BERNARD, A. M.

In Two Volumes.

The Second Edition.

LONDON Sold by William Bray, 1713.

OF THE

FROM

PRESENTED
BY
THE HON. SOC.
OF
LINCOLN'S INN

TO THE KING.

May it Pleaſe Your Moſt Excellent Majeſty;

THESE Hiſtories, Now firſt Publiſhed in the *Engliſh* Language, do moſt Humbly beg to Offer themſelves to the Royal Patronage of Your Majeſty; whereunto they are Encouraged by

this; that in the Originals, to which there are Prefixed the Imperial Names of *Conſtantine* the *Great* and *Dioclesian*, They have been antiently Conſecrated unto Princes, the moſt Glorious, and the moſt Invincible, Then, on Earth.

Your Majeſty is the *Conſtantine* of This Age; and by as Great a Hand, and as Peculiar a Happineſs, and with as Immortal Glory, hath Reſcued the Liberties of all *Europe*; and more eſpecially, the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this Church and Nation, as that Emperor did the Primitive Chriſtians from the Powers of Paganiſm.

Nor could the Potentates, whoſe Lives are here Repreſented, find any where a more Illuſtrious Patron, and a Better Judge of their Great

Actions,

Actions, than Your Majesty. Had Your Majesty swayed the *British* Scepter in those days, *Hadrian* and *Severus* had visited, as they Then did, Your Coasts; but not to pretend to Conquests, but to Adore You.

Happy I! That I have this Opportunity of Presenting, with all Humility, a small Oblation to Your Majesty, as a Mark of my entire Fidelity and Affection to Your most Sacred Person and Government. The God of Arms hath Miraculously Acted for you against Your Enemies. And may He be pleased to Grant, that Your Majesty, supported ever by His Hand, may long Continue to Adorn, as You do, the Gloriousest Crown, joyned with the best Church, in the World, by a Reign, which is so

Infinitely Worthy of the One and the Other.

I am, with the moſt Profound Veneration,

SIR,

Your MAJESTY's

Moſt Humble,

Moſt obedient Servant,

and Moſt Faithful Subject,

John Bernard.

THE PREFACE.

I *Hope, it will appear, that there are many things in theſe Lives of that great Moment,* and which are no where elſe in the World to be found, *that This Publication of them will not be unacceptable to the Ingenuous Reader. They are the moſt Authentick accounts of the Princes of whom they ſpeak, that are Extant to us at this day. I had almoſt ſaid, they are the very only Hiſtories which we have of them. For* Victor *and* Eutropius *give us no Better than a few Sketches upon them.* Herodian *begins a great deal too late, and ends a great deal too ſoon for the Reigns of many of theſe Princes; and* Dion Caſſius *Concludes his Hiſtory with his own Conſulſhip under* Alexander Severus. *Neither is* Herodian, *in what he ſays, much leſs the Imperfect Part of* Dion Caſſius, *ſo Particular and*

of that Latitude, as the Method is, that is taken by theſe Hiſtorians: and therefore whoever would inform himſelf, or the world, of the Lives and Actions of theſe Princes, he Unavoidably comes hither for his Materials; and all that any of the Moderns have done, or can do, upon the ſame Subject, is, to gather from this Stock, and Glean from this Harveſt.

This I preſume is enough for me to ſay, to repreſent at once the Authority, and the Value of the Auguſtéan *Hiſtorians. They were Perſons, who were Employed upon what they did by the Command of the Emperors, to whom they Dedicate; and I take that to be a very good reaſon to think, that they took all the care they could of their Performance, and that they had the Reputation in their own Age of being None of the worſt Hands.*

Yet it is very certain, that the Originals are ſtrangely Coarſe, and wonderfully Rugged. The Learned Salmaſius, Caſaubon, *and* Gruterus, *but eſpecially the two firſt, have beſtowed incredible Pains upon them, to make them intelligible. The Text, and the Manuſcripts out of which the Text hath been Printed, are all ſo very Vitious. But there is no Neceſſity, that I ſhould Publiſh*

liſh here, all that I have obſerved as to thoſe Matters. I muſt confeſs, it hath been a Work of no ſmall difficulty to me to Tranſlate them. So obſcure and dark as they are in their own Language, it was almoſt impoſſible to make them ſhine in another. But yet when I obſerved, how very much theſe Lives have been long wanting to the Publick, and no Collections I thought out of them could be ſo ſatisfactory, nor comparable with the Original; I was pleaſed, that I had choſe the Part that would be the moſt beneficial to the Reader, although at the ſame time it was the moſt painful to me.

In what manner I have acquitted my ſelf, I muſt leave it to his Candor, and to his Goodneſs to determine. I have endeavoured to make both the Language and the Story ſo Eaſie and ſo Natural, by the Liberty that I take, and which I think is no more than juſt, that whilſt they are in the Original ſome of the difficulteſt Books in the World, he that Runs may Read them here, and there is no need of the leaſt Notes to Explain any thing. I have for the moſt part given to Places the Modern Names, under which they are now known to us: except when it is inconſiſtent with the Modern Geography ſo to do, or when they are ſuch Places, as have been long Extinct,

Extinct, and we have no modern Names for them. Nor is the Reader to be ſurpriſed, if he ſhould ſee the City of Byzantium *called* Conſtantinople, *even before* Conſtantine. *This is a Soleciſm in point of time. But I ſtand not upon that, when I conſider; that howſoever my Authors writ to the Ages long ſince paſt, yet I do tranſlate them to my own.*

There is a Queſtion amongſt the Criticks, but of not much more moment, than generally the Queſtions of thoſe Gentlemen are; whether the ſeveral Perſons, to whoſe Names theſe Lives are attributed as the Authors, were really the Authors of them or not; and whether Ælius Spartian *and* Ælius Lampridius *be not the ſame Perſon under three Names; becauſe* Salmaſius *ſays, that in the* Palatine *Manuſcript, all the Lives of the firſt Volume, contrary to the Example of other Manuſcripts, and to the received Opinion, are attributed to the Name of* Spartianus. *Now, as to this, I need ſay no more, than that I cannot think, that* Spartianus *was the Author of all the firſt Volume, for this Reaſon; becauſe the ſame Perſon would never have made ſo many Repetitions: And ſo it ſeems the moſt probable to me to be, that each Part was written by the Hand that it pretends to; but yet all, or however, moſt of them, written by a common Conſent, and Undertaking of the Authors, one amongſt another.* One

One thing there is, wherein I crave the Liberty farther to ſpeak my Opinion, as to the Praiſe of theſe Authors. The Acts which they have faithfully extracted out of the Journal of the Senate, and out of the Ulpian *Library; the* Bitter Exclamations of the Senate againſt the Memories of their evil Princes, and their Applauſes of their good Ones; *the Letters and Speeches which are Here, not as in other Hiſtorians invented, but all true Originals; Theſe I ſay, I think, are ſuch Beauties, as are not to be parallell'd out of the beſt of the Antients, that have ever writ the* Roman *Hiſtory.*

The Lives of Nerva *and* Trajan, *I have tranſlated from the Original Greek of* Dion Caſſius: *He being the only Hiſtorian of the Antients, that are now extant, that hath them. And it was neceſſary that thoſe Two Lives ſhould be premiſed to the reſt, to make the Line of the* Roman *Emperors perfect, from the end of* Suetonius.

Where the Auguſtéan *Hiſtorians have themſelves ended, I have been obliged to adjoyn a few Collections of my own, for the Lives of* Diocleſian, Maximian, Conſtantius *and* Galerius: *Becauſe we have no antient Originals left us of thoſe Emperors; and to end with* Carinus, *it was thought improper, it being*

being no period; whereas the Addition of those Four, after him, brings down the Account entirely unto Constantine *the* Great.

To Regulate the better the whole, I have added a Chronology for the satisfaction of any who shall be pleased to turn to it.

The Extract out of the Learned Vossius, *which follows, prevents me in the rest, that I might have to offer; it was done to my hand, by an ingenious Gentleman.*

I shall only add, that after I had entirely finished this Translation, I received a French *one, made about thirty Years ago by the* Abbé de Villeloin, *a great Writer, who dedicates it to the* French *King; and, I observe, takes the Liberty to say, that it is the Tenth Book which he hath had the Honour to dedicate to him. It begins but with* Hadrian, *and ends with* Carinus. *I perused it, and compared Mine with it; and I shall be glad, if this may be something the better for that Labour.*

These Historians have not affected to be eloquent, but they may the more be depended upon for the Truth.

THE

THE LIVES OF THE *Roman* Emperors FROM DOMITIAN where SUETONIUS ends, TO CONSTANTINE *the Great.*

VOL. I.

THE

LIFE

OF

PUBLIUS VIRGILIUS MARO.

FROM

DONATUS, SERVIUS, SUETONIUS, &c.

TO

WHICH IS ADDED,

A CRITICAL ESSAY

ON THE

WORKS OF VIRGIL.

THE

Lives in Vol. I.

Cocceius Nerva, Trajan. } *By* Dio Caſſius.

Hadrian, Ælius Verus Cæſar. } *By* Ælius Spartianus.

Antoninus Pius, Marcus Antoninus, Verus. } *By* Jul. Capitolinus.

Avidius Caſſius, *By* Volcatius Gallicanus.

Commodus, *By* Ælius Lampridius.

Pertinax, *By* Julius Capitolinus.

Didius Julianus, Severus, Peſcennius Niger. } *By* Ælius Spartianus.

Clodius Albinus, *By* Julius Capitolinus.

Caracalla, Geta, } *By* Ælius Spartianus.

Opilius Macrinus, *By* Julius Capitolinus.

Alexander Severus, Diadumenus, Heliogabalus. } *By* Ælius Lampridius.

THE




IMP. NERVA CAES. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. P. P.


IMP. CAES. NERVA. TRAIAN. AVG. GRM. P. M.


IMP. CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG.


ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. II.


IMP. CAES. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. P. M.


L. AVR. VERVS AVG. ARM. PARTHICVS. MAX.

P. 1 Vol. 1.

A. Christi XCVII.

THE

Life and Reign

OF THE

EMPEROR

COCCEIUS NERVA.

BY

DIO CASSIUS:

Rom. Hist. Lib. 68.

VOL. I.

AFTER the Death of *Domitian*, the Senate set up *Cocceius Nerva* to succeed upon the Throne of the Empire of *Rome*.

Domitian's Statues demolish'd.

The Statues of *Domitian* which were of Silver, and others which were of Gold, as he had many

many of both, were out of hatred to his Memory melted down: A great quantity of Money was made of them, and the many triumphal Arches were deſtroyed that had been erected to his Glory.

Perſecution of the Chriſtians remitted.

Nerva remitted the Perſecution which was raiſed againſt the Chriſtians by *Domitian*, and pardon'd ſuch as ſtood Condemned, and recalled home others that were fled. He put to Death all the Slaves and Servants, who had taken the Advantage of that Reign, by Informing, to ſeek the Lives of their Maſters. He ordered, that that Rank of People ſhould not be heard in any Accuſation againſt their Maſters at all. He ordered, that none ſhould be Proſecuted for being either of the Religion of the Chriſtians, or that of the *Jews*. But yet as he was a Prince who was ſlack in his Government, many Perſons were notwithſtanding upon the Accuſations of Sycophants condemned, and particularly *Suras* a Philoſopher, was one of this number.

In fine, the Correction which he took of the ill Miniſters of the laſt Reign, and the Liberties which he gave in his own, were an occaſion that the Mouths of all the People were opened againſt one another, till *Rome* was in a Mutiny; hereupon *Tirenta* the Conſul ſaid, *It is ill when a Prince ties up the People ſo, that there is no Liberty of any thing for any one; but yet a Liberty for every thing for every one is worſe than none.* *Nerva* was made ſenſible of it, and gave Orders for the time to come, to redreſs it.

He

He was Old when he came to the Empire, and very weak and infirm. His Stomach ſeldom retain'd what he eat. He allowed no Statues of him to be ſet up either in Silver or Gold. All the Goods about the Court, belonging to ſuch as had been injured by *Domitian*, he reſtored to the Owners. He gave Six Hundred *Seſtertiums* to be laid out upon a Purchaſe of Land to be divided amongſt the Poor of *Rome*, and he appointed ſome of the Senators to buy it, and to make the Diſtribution. His Coffers being empty, he ſold a great many rich Robes, and Plate, and Furniture both of what was his own before his elevation, and of the Furniture Royal, ſeveral Eſtates alſo, and Houſes, and in general, all things, except the Neceſſaries that he could not be without. He was not difficult in the Prices for which he ſold them. He did a kindneſs to many in the Peny-worths that he gave them. He took away divers Sacrifices, Races of the *Cirque*, and other publick Shews to ſave Charges, and retrench his Expences as much as he could. *Moderation of Nerva.*

He aſſured the Senate upon his Oath, *That he never would be that Prince who ſhould ſpill the Blood of any Senator.* Which Oath he kept, notwithſtanding the Conſpiracy afterwards form'd againſt him, which might well have provoked him to other Sentiments. He did nothing without the Counſel of the Great Men. He made ſeveral Laws. Amongſt the reſt, he made a Law, *To forbid the Gelding of any one for an Eunuch*; and another, *That no*

body ſhould Marry his Brother's, or his Siſter's Daughter.

Makes Viginius *his Colleague.*

He appointed *Virginius Rufus* to be the Conſul in conjunction with himſelf, although *Virginius Rufus* was one, who when he commanded in *Germany*, and had overcome *Vindex* in the time of *Nero*, had been often importuned by the Army to take upon him the Empire, which he refuſed. In Honour whereof, it was written afterwards upon his Tomb when he died, That *overthrowing* Vindex, *he had aſſerted the Empire, not to himſelf, but to his Countrey*; whoſe Service, ſignifying, he had intirely regarded without any Ambition in it of his own.

Nerva comported himſelf in his Reign in that manner, that he ſometime ſaid, *He had done nothing to make him think, but that he could reſign the Empire, and lead a private Life again in Safety.*

Conſpiracy againſt him.

Calphurnius Craſſus of the famous Family of the *Craſſi*, had with ſome others confederated in a Plot againſt him, which he was made acquainted with, to them unknown. He obſerved them, and placed them by his own Perſon at a Shew of the Combats of the *Gladiators* in the *Cirque*; where he took up the Weapons, as if it were only to ſee if they were ſharp, as is uſual, and then he gave them out of his Hand into the Hands of the Conſpirators. *What think you*, ſays he, *will not theſe do? Are they not ſharp enough?* He intended this as a ſecret Reflection to them of his knowledge of that Deſign of theirs, and at the

the ſame time he ſeemed to ſhew ſuch a Neglect of his Life, as if he did not care tho' they killed him upon the place.

The Captain of the Guards under him was *Caſperius Ælianus*, who was the ſame before under *Domitian*. This Officer ſet the Soldiers againſt *Nerva*, and work'd them to a heighth, that they demanded the Heads of ſeveral that were about his Perſon, to which *Nerva* oppoſed himſelf ſo, that ſtripping bare his Boſom, and offering it bare to them in a Paſſion, ſays he, *Take my Life, not theirs.* However, this did not ſave them, for as many as *Caſperius Ælianus* had mark'd out, fell a Sacrifice to the Pleaſure of the Guards.

The Age of *Nerva* was one thing which loſt him much Reſpect. After this Action of the Guards, he went to the *Capitol*, and declared his Adoption of *Marcus Ulpius Trajan* with a loud Voice thus, *He adopts Trajan.*

Together with my hearty Wiſhes for the Proſperity of the Senate and People of Rome, *and that what I do may be Happy to them and my ſelf; I make* Marcus Ulpius Trajan *my Son.*

Then he created him in the Senate his *Cæſar*, which is the Title of a Perſon when he is choſen to ſucceed in the Empire; and having done this, he wrote to *Trajan*, who at that time commanded in *Germany*, with his own Hand, amongſt other things a *Greek* Verſe out of *Homer*,

Τίσιαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν.

by which he ſeemed to ſignifie, that he left it to him to do him Juſtice, and to revenge him of that Mutiny of the Guards.

Thus *Trajan* was appointed to ſucceed to the Empire, even in preference to *Nerva*'s own Relations; whereof there were ſome whom he might have ſo honoured, if he had not been a Man who regarded the Good of the Publick above the Conſideration of his Blood. Nor did it incline him the leſs to what he did, to know, that *Trajan* was a *Spaniard*, neither an *Italian*, nor of *Italian* born Parents; and that no Alien, as he was, had ever poſſeſſed the *Roman* Empire before. For he conſidered, That it was the Worth and not the Countrey of any one that was the thing, which he ought to reſpect. After which *Nerva* died, having Reigned one Year, four Months, and nine Days: And lived ſixty five Years, ten Months, and ten Days.

His Death.

Dio Caſſius, Lib. 67.

AS *Nerva* was a Perſon of very great Worth and Honour, he was offered the Empire before *Domitian* was killed, by the ſame Party, who to ſave their Lives, becauſe they found that they were privately mark'd out for the Slaughter by *Domitian*, made themſelves the Maſters of the Life of that Prince. He was alſo as much under Danger from that Prince, as they, which made him the more eaſy to be perſuaded to accept their Offer, and to run their hazards. For the Aſtrologers, with

with whom *Domitian* had adviſed about the Nativities of Great Men, had accuſed *Nerva* as one that was to be ſuſpected of having an Eye upon the Empire. And as *Domitian* put ſeveral upon that account to Death, even of Men who perhaps never flattered themſelves with thoſe hopes, ſo he had put to Death *Nerva*, if it had not been for a kinder Aſtrologer than the reſt, who to ſave him, ſaid, *That it was good to let him alone, in a few days he would die of himſelf.*

Proclus *his Prognoſtication.*

That which above all things deſerves to be admired, is, one *Larginus Proclus* had ſaid publickly in *Germany*, that upon a certain a day, which he named, *Domitian* ſhould die; for which the Governour of the Province ſent him up to *Rome*, where he was brought before *Domitian*, and ſtill he continued to ſay the ſame thing. He was condemned for't, and to be executed the day after that *Domitian* had out-lived the Danger; but *Domitian* was killed upon that very day, and *Larginus Proclus* eſcaped, and received a *Reward from* Nerva *of four thouſand Crowns.*

Aur. Vict. *Epitome.*

NERVA was born at the City of *Narni, which is under the States of the Church in Italy.* Preſently after he had accepted the Empire, there was a rumour, that *Domitian* was not killed, but living, and was coming to him, which put him into that Fright, that he changed colour, was ſtruck Dumb, and could

ſcarce ſtand upon his Feet, till he was aſſured of the contrary again, and received a Confirmation of the Death of *Domitian*.

All the Puniſhment that he took of the Conſpirator *Calpburnius Craſſus* was, he baniſh'd him and his Wife to *Taranto* in *Naples*, for which the Senate blamed his Clemency.

When the Guards demanded the Heads of thoſe who were ſo dear to him about his Perſon, the Paſſion which he was in was ſo great, that it caſt him into a Vomiting and Looſneſs; they were dear to him for this reaſon, becauſe as they were thoſe who had taken off *Domitian*, ſo they were the Authors of the Election of himſelf to the Empire. His Body was interred in the Sepulchre of *Auguſtus*.

THE

A. Christi XCIX.

THE Life and Reign OF THE EMPEROR *Marcus Ulpius Trajan.*

BY

DIO CASSIUS:

Rom. Hist. Lib. 68.

TRAJAN, before he was Emperor had a Dream, which seemed to tell him, that the Senate of *Rome* had Chose him, and Seal'd him, as it were for their own. A Person in the like Dress and Form of one, that in Picture the Senate is represented by, that is, in a Robe of State guarded with purple, a Vest purled with large Knaps

Trajan's *Dream.*

Knaps of purple, a Crown upon his Head, a little elderly, came to him, he dream'd, and with a Seal which he had in a Ring, ſealed him now on the right and now on the left Breaſt.

He wrote to the Senate after he was declared Emperor, ſeveral things with his own Hand, and amongſt the reſt, he aſſured them of this; That *the Blood of no Man, who was an honeſt Man, ſhould ever be ſpilt by him, neither ſhould he be touch'd in his Fortunes or Honour.* He aſſured them of this upon his Oath, and not only then, but he repeated the ſame to them at other times.

He puniſhes the old Mutineers.

He ſent for *Ælianus Caſperius*, together with ſuch of the Soldiers of the Guards, as had mutined againſt *Nerva*, as though it were upon ſome Buſineſs to employ them. But he did not ſuffer their Crime and the Murders which they had committed to paſs unpuniſhed, for he put them to Death.

When he came to *Rome* he altered ſeveral things for the greater Good of the Publick, and in the Favour of Perſons who had deſerved well. He ſhewed himſelf particularly careful of the Cities of *Italy*. He ſettled Alms and Penſions towards the Maintenance of Children of poor Families, and did a great deal of Good of that nature.

His Empreſs.

Plotina his Empreſs, at her firſt entrance into the Imperial Palace at *Rome*, turned herſelf upon the Steps to the People and ſaid, *I go in here the ſame as I would wiſh my ſelf to come out again*; and through her whole Reign ſhe

ſhe preſerved her eſteem with a Conduct which was without Reproach.

After ſome ſtay at *Rome*, *Trajan* undertook an Expedition againſt the People of *Dacia*; unto which he was provoked by the Proceedings of that People who had augmented their Forces, and were become inſolent; the Money beſides which was paid to them every Year, and with which the *Romans* bought their Obedience, was a Burthen, that *Trajan* was willing to throw off.

The Dacian War.

Decebalus the King of *Dacia* was ſufficiently apprehenſive of a War made upon him under the Conduct of a Prince ſo formidable. He was ſenſible that he had another Force, and another Perſon to deal with, than when he had overthrown *Domitian*. For *Trajan* was a Prince with whom the *Roman* State intirely accorded. A Prince that excelled in Juſtice, Gallantry and Integrity of Life: Strong in Body: In the Forty ſecond Year of his Age when he began his Reign: In the full Maturity of his Mind: Paſt the Raſhneſs of Youth, and not yet arrived to any thing of the feebleneſs of old Age. He was one, who envied no Man, and diſobliged no Man. All ſuch as he found were really deſerving, he eſteemed and preferred. The Eſtates of Men, no leſs than their Lives, remained untouch'd by him. If he ſpent much Money upon his Wars, he ſpent much alſo to adorn the Times of Peace. This is ſeen in the Roads, Ports, and publick Edifices which are his, and which are great and neceſſary Works. As he

Character of Trajan.

was by Nature of a Temper to appear in what he did, Great and Magnanimous; he rebuilt the *Cirque*, which was decay'd, much larger than it was before, and more Beautiful. He wrote an Inſcription upon it to ſignify, that he had done it ſo, *to make it worthy to receive the People of* Rome. He deſired rather to be loved than Adored. He was affable to the People, and reſpectful to the Senate. All loved him. None dreaded him but the Enemy. He Hunted, he Feaſted with his Miniſters, Viſited their Offices, Jeſted with them: Many times ſate amongſt them in the fourth Place; came to their Houſes without a Guard, and made his Converſation pleaſant. Tho' he was not one who was ſtudied in all Parts of Learning, yet he acquitted himſelf in that reſpect very well; every thing he did was Excellent. I know that he was given to love Boys, and to Drink; and had he been guilty of any thing in either reſpect that is Baſe, he would have been to be blamed. But in Drinking he went not to exceſs, and as to his love of the Boys, he forced or injured no one. He loved War; yet when he had adjuſted Affairs, and weakened the Enemy, and increaſed his Alliances, he was ſatisfied. No ſuch thing ever befel him, as is commonly happens to others that command Armies; that is, for the Soldiers to Mutiny and be Inſolent. This was a Happineſs owing to the Excellency of his Conduct, and therefore if the King of *Dacia* feared him, it was not without reaſon.

His Inſcription on the Cirque

As

As he was upon his March againſt the Enemy, and near the place where they lay, ſome body had pretended to cut upon a large Muſhroom, which was brought to him, with words in *Latin*, ſignifying, That *others of his Allies, and particularly the* Byrrhi, *who bordered upon* Dacia, *adviſed him to make a Peace with the Enemy, and retire.* But yet this did not hinder, but he began the Fight, in which many of the Enemy were killed, and many of his own Men were wounded; to bind up whole Wounds he did not ſpare to tear his own Cloaths into Rags for Binders to give them; and for others of his Men that were killed, he built an Altar, and ordered that there ſhould be Sacrifices every Year offered thereupon in their Honour. *He fights the Enemy.*

He purſued his Blow, directing his March over the Hills and Mountains from one to another, not without great danger, till he came up to the Capital City of *Dacia*, whilſt *Lucius* employed the Enemy on another ſide, and killed and took great Numbers of them.

Then *Decebalus* ſent to *Trajan* to deſire Peace, by ſome of his chief Officers, who coming into his Preſence, laid down their Arms, and proſtrated themſelves upon the Ground before him, and ſaid, *That* Decebalus *did above all things covet the Honour to come and confer with him in Perſon, being ready on his Part to receive all his Commands. But if this was otherwiſe to be reſolved on, he deſired that ſome Perſons might be ſent to him with Powers to Treat a Peace.* *Suras*, and *Claudius Livianus*, the Decebalus *deſires Peace.*

the Captain of the Guards, were ſent from *Trajan* upon this Subject; who were met by others on the ſide of *Decebalus*. But nothing being concluded, becauſe *Decebalus* refuſed to appear, *Trajan* took his Caſtles, and therein his Arms, Artillery and Stores, together with a *Roman* Standard which had been loſt formerly under *Fuſcus*. A Siſter of *Decebalus* fell at the ſame time a Priſoner into the Hands of *Maximus*; and a ſtrong Town in the Country was taken by the ſame. All which coming upon the heels of one another, *Decebalus* recollected himſelf again, and intirely complied with the Conditions that were offer'd him. He promiſed to deliver up his Arms, Artillery, the Artificers that made them, and the Deſerters that had run over to him: To diſmantle his Fortreſſes, retire from the Land that he had taken from his Neighbours, and have the ſame Friends and Enemies with the People of *Rome*: To entertain no Deſerters, and to take no Soldiers into his Service, out of Places in the Dominions of the *Romans*; becauſe moſt of his beſt Men were ſuch, as he had inticed into his Service from thence. All which he promiſed, againſt his Mind, and being conducted to an Interview with *Trajan*, he threw himſelf upon the Ground and adored him.

Decebalus ſubmits.

He ſent to the Senate of *Rome* his Embaſſadors, to have the ſame Peace confirmed from them, that he had made with *Trajan*. The Embaſſadors were introduced into the Senate, where they laid down their Arms upon the Ground, and ſtanding before the

the Senate with their Hands within their Fingers, as if they were Captives, they ſpoke in Terms of great Submiſſion to the Senate, who ratified the Peace, and then they took up their Arms again. *Warbel* the Capital City of *Dacia* received a Garriſon of the *Romans*, and the reſt of the Countrey being ſerved accordingly, *Trajan* returned back to *Italy*.

He was received in Triumph, and the Title of the *Conquerour of Dacia* was given him, and inſerted into his Stile. The Combats of the *Gladiators*, in which he delighted, and the diverſions of the Stage in which *Pylades* was one that gained much of his Favour, were celebrated for his Entertainment. Though he was a Military Prince, he took never the leſs Care of the Civil Policy, and minded the Affairs of Peace and Juſtice. In the *Forum* of *Auguſtus*, or in the *Portico* of *Livia*, or in other Places, he many times aſſiſted in Perſon at the Cauſes which were pleaded there. Trajan's *Triumph.*

In the mean time *Decebalus* could not perſuade himſelf to keep the Conditions of the Peace which he had made. He proceeded to raiſe Men, provide Arms, entertain Deſerters, re-fortify his Caſtles, and invite the Nations that were his Neighbours to joyn with him, to whom he repreſented; *That if he was forſaken by them now, their own Ruine was the next thing to follow. It was eaſier, and the ſafeſt way for them,* he ſaid, *to preſerve their Liberties, by ſtanding all by one another whilſt they* Decebalus *renews the War.*

they might, for the Common Defence, than it would be to do this after Decebalus *was ruined, which would open a Gap to the Enemy to devour them one by one.* Pursuant to this, he began the War by falling upon such as had appear'd against him in the former War, and by possessing himself of a part of the Countrey of the *Jazyges*, which was upon the *Danube* towards *Dacia*.

Hereupon the Senate declared *Decebalus* again an Enemy, and *Trajan* without committing the War to another, went in Person to reduce him a second time. He marched against him with an Army which *Decebalus* was in an ill Condition by fair Force to resist; but by Deceit and Treachery, he was within a little of effecting that, that he could not by his Arms. He sent Persons under the notion of Deserters into *Mœsia* to assassine him, as *Trajan* was always easie of access; but then more particularly upon the Incidents of the War, any one was admitted to speak to him. That which disappointed this Design was, one of the Conspirators was taken up on suspicion and put to the Torture, who confessed the whole Plot.

Treachery of Decebalus *defeated.*

There was a Commander of a Legion in the *Roman* Army of great Skill, and who had often signalized himself in the Wars against *Dacia*, called *Longinus*; *Decebalus* found means by Treachery to get this Colonel into his hands, and then sent to *Trajan* to tell him, *That upon Condition the Countrey as far as the* Danube, *might be restored to him, and that*

Longinus *trapan'd.*

that Trajan *allowed him for the Charges of the War*, he courted his Friendſhip, and would return *Longinus* again in ſafety. To which *Trajan* anſwered in a manner, that was to let him know, that he neither made a ſmall, nor yet ſuch a high Account of the Life of *Longinus*, as to buy it too dear. In the mean time, whilſt *Decebalus* was reſolving with himſelf what more to do, *Longinus* found means to procure a quantity of Poyſon by the help of a Servant, and he took it in the night and died.

Trajan built a Bridge over the *Danube*, for which I know not how I can ſufficiently admire him. The other Works of his are very Magnificent, but this is above them all. It is a Bridge of Nineteen Arches, all of ſquare Stone; the Heighth one Hundred and Fifty Foot above the Foundation; the Breadth Sixty Foot, and the Diſtance between each Arch one Hundred and Seventy Foot. How ſhall I admire the Charge that this coſt, and which way alſo it was poſſible to Found it in a great River, and a difficult Water which hath an ozy Gravel at the bottom, when in the mean time there was no turning the Stream aſide into another Chanel? The River is in other places double and treble the breadth, that it is here where this Bridge covers it. Here it is at the ſtraighteſt, and therefore ſo much the more fit place for a Bridge; but yet the Account that I have given, makes it a pretty broad Paſſage here alſo. But that which I would chiefly obſerve from the Breadth of the River

Trajan's *Bridge over the* Danube.

in this and in other places is, that the broader and the more ſpatious a Flood it is as it comes hither, and the broader and the greater Compaſs that it challenges as it goes from hence, ſo much the deeper and the more rapid muſt it be where it is ſtreightned in its Courſe; and this muſt make it the more difficult to cover it with a Bridge, where it is ſo deep and ſo rapid. Certainly the Greatneſs of the Soul of *Trajan*, ſhews it ſelf in this Work; tho' it be of no uſe to us now, nor paſſable. The Peers are yet ſtanding, which look as if they were only built to ſhew, That *nothing is impoſſible to the Wit of Man.* The reaſon of *Trajan*'s Building this Bridge was, to paſs his Forces with readineſs to the Succour of the *Romans* on the other ſide of the *Danube*, in caſe the *Barbarians* attack'd them at a time when the River was frozen up. *Hadrian* fearing on the contrary, that the *Barbarians* might ſometime Force the Paſſage of this Bridge, and give themſelves an eaſie deſcent by it into the Country of *Meſia*, demoliſhed it, and broke down the Arches.

Trajan paſſing his Army over the *Danube* by this Bridge, made rather a ſafe than a quick War, and with time and difficulty finiſhed the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Dacia*. He ſignalized his Conduct and his Gallantry in many things himſelf. The Soldiers by his Example were encouraged to contemn Dangers, and acquit themſelves with Honour. Amongſt the reſt a Horſeman who was very much wounded, was brought out of a Fight to the

His Perſonal Valour.

the Surgeon to be dreſs'd; but perceiving that his Life was deſperate, and that his Wounds were uncurable, he quitted the Tent again before his Spirits failed him, and rejoyned the Battel, and died, fighting with great Bravery.

In fine, *Decebalus*, after his Capital City was loſt, and his Country all taken, and himſelf in danger to be taken, killed himſelf. His Head was brought to *Rome*: *Dacia* was made a Province of the Empire, and *Trajan* planted it with Colonies of *Romans*. He had hid his Treaſure in the Bed of the River *Iſtrig*, not far from *Warbel*. For he had made his Slaves turn the Water aſide another way, and into the Channel dig a Pit, in which he buried a great deal of Gold and Silver, and precious Things that could endure the Wet, which he covered with a heap of Stones and Earth, and then brought the River to run over them in its uſual Courſe again. He hid his Robes and other things of that nature, in Caves of the Earth, by the Hands of the ſame Slaves, who when they had done their Work, were killed, becauſe they ſhould ſay nothing. But one *Bicilis*, who was one of his Favourites, knowing the thing, and being taken Priſoner by *Trajan*, he diſcovered all to him, and the buried Treaſure was brought to Light again.

Decebalus *kills himſelf.*

His hidden Treaſure.

About this time *Palmas* the Governour of *Syria* reduced the *Stony Arabia* under the Obedience of the Empire of *Rome*.

After *Trajan* was returned to *Rome*, Embaſſies were ſent to him from many Nations of

Trajan *returns to* Rome.

of the Barbarians, and amongſt the reſt from the *Indians*. The Publick Games and Shews were Celebrated one hundred twenty and three days together: in which eleven thouſand Beaſts of all ſorts were killed, and ten thouſand Gladiators diverted the People, ſpilling their Blood over the Fenns called *Auferte Palude* in the *Campagnia di Roma*. He made Cauſeways, and built Houſes upon the Roads, and built Bridges which were very Magnificent.

His Friend Licinius Suras *dies.*

He Called in, and Melted down all the Diminiſhed Coin. He buried *Licinius Suras*, when he died, with a Publick Funeral, and ſet up his Statue: who had attain'd to be ſo Rich and ſo Great, as to Found at his own Expence a Publick School for the Plays and Exerciſes of the *Romans*. This Perſon, and *Trajan*, had ſuch a Friendſhip, and ſuch an Intimacy in one another, that many times when the Enemies of *Suras*, who were ſuch as envyed him, had Accuſed him to *Trajan*, *Trajan* went nevertheleſs to his Houſe to Sup with him, Uninvited; and diſmiſſing all his Guards, Firſt he truſted himſelf to the Phyſician of *Suras*, to do ſomething to his Eyes and Eyebrows; then he truſted himſelf to his Barber to ſhave him; For this was antiently the Cuſtom, as of all other *Romans*, ſo of the Emperours: For *Hadrian* was the firſt Emperor that let his Beard grow unſhaved. When this was done, he waſhed, and went to Supper. The day after he ſaid to thoſe about him, who were always ſuggeſting ſomething

ill

ill to him of *Suras*, *If* Suras *had a mind to kill me, he would have done it Yesterday.* This was a great thing in him, to truſt his Perſon in the leaſt with one, who was purſued with ſuch Accuſations: But yet it is more to be admired, how unalterably he preſerved with him his Friendſhip, and how that nothing was able to make him believe that ever *Suras* would hurt him. When firſt he made him a Captain of the Guards, which is to be done by a Ceremony of delivering to him a Sword; he drew the Sword, and as he gave it, he ſaid, *Take this Sword to Uſe it for me, if my Reign deſerve it; or otherwiſe, to Uſe it againſt me.*

He ſet up the Statues of *Soſſius*, *Palmas*, and *Celſus*, who were three, that he had a Favour for before others. He referred the Conſpiracies at any time againſt him, to the Cognizance of the Senate, by whoſe Sentence the Offenders were Puniſhed: of which Number was *Craſſus*. He built Libraries for Books. He ſet up in his own *Forum*, a vaſt Column, partly for a Tomb for himſelf, when he dyed, and partly for an Hiſtorical Monument of all his Exploits. All the Ground, on which that *Forum* ſtands, was before a Mountainous Earth, which he digged down as deep as his Column is high, and ſo built the *Forum* Level. After this, He began a War againſt the *Armenians* and *Parthians*; pretending, it was, becauſe the King of *Armenia* had received his Crown at the Hands of the King of *Parthia*, and not of him; but really it was out of a deſire of Glory.

His publick Works.

His Parthian Expedition.

When he came as far as to *Athens* on this Expedition, the Ambaſſadours of *Choſroes* the King of *Parthia* met him; who were ſent to deſire a Peace with him, and brought Preſents to give him from their Maſter. For when *Choſroes* had received advice of the Preparations of *Trajan*, and that *Trajan* was reſolved to ſecond his Words with good Blows, the Fear, that he was in, obliged him to abate of his Heighth, and to ſend to beg, *That he might not be troubled with a War: For he humbly asked the Crown of* Armenia *at his Hands, in the behalf of* Parthamaſiris, *his Nephew, the Son of* Pacorus, *the late King of* Armenia; Exedreas, *having, as being neither agreeable to the* Romans *nor the* Parthians, *Abdicated*, he ſaid, *the Crown again. Trajan* refuſed to Accept their Preſents, and returned no other Anſwer; than that a *Man's friendſhip is to be proved by Actions, and not Words; and that when he came into* Syria, *he ſhould do all things that were fitting.* Perſiſting in which Opinion, he took his way through the *Leſſer Aſia*, *Cilicia*, and the reſt of the Provinces, and ſo came to the City of *Seleucia*, and from thence to *Antioch* in *Syria*.

Courted by the Eaſtern Kings.

As he was at *Antioch*, *Abgarus* the King of the *Oſrhoeni* in *Meſopotamia* ſent him Preſents, and Meſſages of Friendſhip. But being equally in fear of the *Romans* and the *Parthians*, and deſiring to pleaſe both Sides, he declined for that reaſon the waiting upon him in perſon. Others of the Kings and Governours of the Countries, where he came, met him, brought

brought him Preſents, and amongſt the reſt, they Preſented him with a Horſe, that was taught to Adore; kneeling upon his Fore-feet, and bowing his Head to the Ground, as *Trajan* ſtood before him. He accepted all their Preſents.

Behaviour of Parthamaſiris.

But the behaviour of *Parthamaſiris* upon this Conjuncture, who had taken upon him the Crown of *Armenia*, was altogether a piece of Raſhneſs. Firſt, he wrote a Letter to *Trajan*, in which he gave himſelf the Name of *King of Armenia*: and receiving no Anſwer, He writ another, in which he omitted that Name, and deſired that *Marcus Junius* the Governour of *Cappadocia* might be ſent to him, as if he intended to mediate ſomething by him. *Trajan* ſent to him, the Son of that *Junius*. In the mean time *Trajan* march'd to the City of *Sohemſat* in *Comagena* in *Syria*, and took it without a Blow. Then he came to *Satala*, which was the Seat of *Anchiolus*, the King of the *Heniochi*, and the *Macheloni*. Him he obliged ſo much, as to make him a Preſent. Then he came to the City of *Elegia* in *Armenia*, where *Parthamaſiris* met him, and was received; but the manner thus.

His Appearance before Trajan.

Trajan ſate, as in a Council of War, in the Camp. After *Parthamaſiris* had ſaluted him, He took the Crown, with which he came, off of his Head, and proſtrated it at the Feet of *Trajan*, and ſtood ſilent; expecting when *Trajan* would return to him the Crown again. The Soldiers ſeeing this, ſet up an Huzza, and Congratulated *Trajan*, as is uſual, after a Victory;

ctory: For they cryed, *This was a Victory without a Battel, an unbloody Victory; to ſee a King of the Houſe of the* Arſacidæ, *the Son of* Pacorus, *and the Nephew of* Choſroes *King of* Parthia, *ſtand before* Trajan *like a Captive without a Crown.* *Parthamaſiris* amazed at the Noiſe, and thinking that it was deſigned for an Affront to him, and to his ruin, turned himſelf about in a Paſſion to be gone. But as he was ſo well ſurrounded that he could not, he deſired, *Not to be obliged to ſpeak, what he had to ſay, in that Crowd.* So he was taken into the Tent of *Trajan*, to whom there he offered the Propoſitions that he had to make; but *Trajan* was not pleaſed to conſent to them. Then he threw himſelf in a Paſſion out of the Tent, and was retiring through the Camp; when *Trajan* ſent for him back again, and in the Council of War; where he had received him at firſt, he deſired him to ſpeak what he had to ſay Publickly, in the hearing of the Company; becauſe Perſons, who were ignorant of what had paſſed betwixt them in Private, ſhould not ſuggeſt falſe Accounts of it, and miſrepreſent it to the World. Hearing this, *Parthamaſiris* could not contain himſelf longer; but with a great Courage, amongſt other things, ſaid, *That he neither had been Conquered, nor taken Priſoner. He came thither voluntarily, in confidence that no Injury would have been offered to him, and that he ſhould receive his Kingdom of* Trajan, *as* Tiridates *did of* Nero. *Trajan* anſwered him, what he ſaw fitting, and withal told him; *That* Armenia

His Speech in the Council of War.

ſhould

ſhould be no bodies Kingdom. It belonged to the Romans, *and ſhould receive a* Roman *Governour. As for himſelf, he gave him the liberty to go where he pleaſed.* So he ſent *Parthamaſiris*, together with the *Parthians* that came with him, out of the Country under a Guard, that he ſhould ſpeak with no one, nor attempt no Novelties; but all the *Armenians* that came with him he ordered to abide in their Proper Dwellings, as being now his own Subjects. *He is diſmiſt.*

Trajan ſecured the Country with convenient Garriſons, and came from thence to the City of *Rhoa* in *Meſopotamia*, where he ſaw King *Abgarus*, whoſe Seat was there. *Abgarus* had before ſent Preſents and Perſons to him often, to Complement him: but ſometimes for one, ſometimes for another reaſon that he pretended, he had not as yet waited upon him himſelf, as neither had *Manos* the Governour of the *Arabia* next adjoyning, nor *Sporaces* the Governour of *Arthemiſia* in *Meſopotamia*. Now the Son of *Abgarus*, *Arbandes*, was a handſom charming Youth, whom *Trajan* had ſeen, and could not chooſe but love for his beauty. By the perſuaſion of this Son, and partly by the fear which *Abgarus* had of the preſence of *Trajan*, *Abgarus* met him at his coming to *Rhoa*, and excuſing himſelf to him, *Trajan* received him very well, and admitted him to his Friendſhip. His handſome Son was indeed Apology enough for him. He entertain'd *Trajan* at a Banquet, in which he brought in his Son to dance before him after the *Barbarian* Mode. *Trajan's Congreſs with* Abgarus.

The

A new Title decreed him.

The Senate of *Rome*, among other things which they decreed in the honour of these Successes of their Prince, gave him the Title of *Optimus*, or the *Best of Princes*. He always marched on foot at the Head of all his Army; whom against every Expedition he Review'd and Furnished; and sometimes marched them in one manner, sometimes another. If they crossed the Rivers on Foot, so did he: sometimes he told them a piece of false News, and acted the part of a Spy amongst them, to make them keep themselves the more carefully to their Duty, and to be ready and intrepid against every thing. He took the Cities of *Nisibis*: and *Ecbatana*, from the *Parthians*, upon which he was Saluted by the Style of *Conquerour of the Parthians* by the Army. But in none of all the Titles, that he acquired, did he delight so much as in that of the *Best of Princes*: because this was a commendation rather of his own Nature and Virtues, than of his Arms.

A great Earthquake.

Whilst he Wintered at the City of *Antioch* in *Syria*, a dreadful Earthquake happened, which did a great deal of mischief to many Cities in that Country, but *Antioch* was in a more particular manner afflicted with it. There was at that time a great number of Soldiers, and an extraordinary Concourse of others from all parts in the place, either upon Business of Law, or upon Embassies, or Trade, or Curiosity: whereby it was so, That there was no Nation, nor no Province but what had a share in the Calamity, and all the *Roman* World suffered in that one City. This Earthquake

was

was preceded by great Thunders, and unuſual Winds: but yet no body ſuſpected from thence the miſchief which followed. Firſt, a mighty bellowing Noiſe was heard on a ſudden, from the Earth; then followed a Shock which was was ſo violent, that it made all the Earth Bounce and Swell. The Houſes Danced: ſome immediately fell with the Toſs, and broke into pieces; ſome reeled to and fro like a Ship in the Sea, and took a compaſs on one ſide and the other, and then fell: And the noiſe of the cracking, and burſting of the Timber, the Brick, and Stones together, was moſt diſmal. A Duſt was raiſed, that it was impoſſible to ſee any one, or ſpeak, or be heard to ſpeak. Many who were without their Houſes ſuffered. They were ſo toſſed up, and then down again, as in a Precipice, and ſtruck againſt one another: ſome were wounded, ſome killed. Trees were torn up from the Roots. But of the reſt, who were overtaken within their Houſes, an infinite number periſhed; a great many with the Houſes falling upon their Heads; a great many were ſuffocated under the Ruins: Others, who were held under the Wood and Stones ſo, by any part of their Bodies, that they could not poſſibly recover themſelves, were in the higheſt degree miſerable: they could not live, and yet they could not ſoon expire. If, out of ſuch an infinite number as were overtaken within their Houſes, ſeveral eſcaped with their lives, yet they were generally hurt; their Legs broken, or their Arms, or their Heads,

Fore-runners thereof.

A new Title decreed him.

The Senate of *Rome*, among other things which they decreed in the honour of theſe Succeſſes of their Prince, gave him the Title of *Optimus*, or the *Beſt of Princes*. He always marched on foot at the Head of all his Army; whom againſt every Expedition he Review'd and Furniſhed; and ſometimes marched them in one manner, ſometimes another. If they croſſed the Rivers on Foot, ſo did he: ſometimes he told them a piece of falſe News, and acted the part of a Spy amongſt them, to make them keep themſelves the more carefully to their Duty, and to be ready and intrepid againſt every thing. He took the Cities of *Niſibis*: and *Ecbatana*, from the *Parthians*, upon which he was Saluted by the Style of *Conquerour of the Parthians* by the Army. But in none of all the Titles, that he acquired, did he delight ſo much as in that of the *Beſt of Princes*: becauſe this was a commendation rather of his own Nature and Virtues, than of his Arms.

A great Earthquake.

Whilſt he Wintered at the City of *Antioch* in *Syria*, a dreadful Earthquake happened, which did a great deal of miſchief to many Cities in that Country, but *Antioch* was in a more particular manner afflicted with it. There was at that time a great number of Soldiers, and an extraordinary Concourſe of others from all parts in the place, either upon Buſineſs of Law, or upon Embaſſies, or Trade, or Curioſity: whereby it was ſo, That there was no Nation, nor no Province but what had a ſhare in the Calamity, and all the *Roman* World ſuffered in that one City. This Earthquake

was

was preceded by great Thunders, and unuſual Winds: but yet no body ſuſpected from thence the miſchief which followed. Firſt, a mighty bellowing Noiſe was heard on a ſudden, from the Earth; then followed a Shock which was was ſo violent, that it made all the Earth Bounce and Swell. The Houſes Danced: ſome immediately fell with the Toſs, and broke into pieces; ſome reeled to and fro like a Ship in the Sea, and took a compaſs on one ſide and the other, and then fell: And the noiſe of the cracking, and burſting of the Timber, the Brick, and Stones together, was moſt diſmal. A Duſt was raiſed, that it was impoſſible to ſee any one, or ſpeak, or be heard to ſpeak. Many who were without their Houſes ſuffered. They were ſo toſſed up, and then down again, as in a Precipice, and ſtruck againſt one another: ſome were wounded, ſome killed. Trees were torn up from the Roots. But of the reſt, who were overtaken within their Houſes, an infinite number periſhed; a great many with the Houſes falling upon their Heads; a great many were ſuffocated under the Ruins: Others, who were held under the Wood and Stones ſo, by any part of their Bodies, that they could not poſſibly recover themſelves, were in the higheſt degree miſerable: they could not live, and yet they could not ſoon expire. If, out of ſuch an infinite number as were overtaken within their Houſes, ſeveral eſcaped with their lives, yet they were generally hurt; their Legs broken, or their Arms, or their Heads,

Fore-runners thereof.

Heads, or they vomited Blood. *Pedo* the Conſul was one of theſe, who died ſoon after. In ſhort, there was no figure of Miſery and Deſtruction but what was to be ſeen amongſt theſe People: GOD ſhook the Earth for many Days and Nights together. The People were all in a Diſtraction, and without help to fly to. Whilſt ſome were immediately killed, and buried under the Ruins, others were ſtarved to death, who were penned up in any void Spaces left by the Timber, or betwixt Pillars, and in Vaults. After the Earthquake was ceaſed, a Perſon who had the Courage to go preſently upon the Ruins, heard the Voice of a Woman crying. Nor was ſhe alone: the ſucking Infant was with her; and ſhe had kept both her Child and herſelf alive, with her Milk. They were digged up and ſaved: and ſearch was made for others. But they found no body more alive, beſides one Child, which was hanging upon the Breaſts of its Mother, and the Mother dead. When they took the Dead up out of the Ruins, it was ſo lamentable a ſight, that the living had no Hearts to rejoyce ſo much as for their own ſafety; ſo great was the Calamity which then afflicted *Antioch*. *Trajan* eſcaped through a Window out of the Houſe where he was, by the help of a Man who was extraordinarily Tall, and who came and carried him off, but not without ſome ſmall Hurts. As the Earthquake continued ſeveral days, he kept himſelf all that time in the open Air, in the Cirque. The Mountain

Miſerable Effects of it.

tain *Liſon* was ſo ſhook, that the Top of it bowed and burſt, and threatned to fall down upon the Town. Other Mountains fell, and great Waters ſtarted up where none was before, and Streams that had flown before, forſook their Courſe and vaniſhed.

The Spring being returned, *Trajan* carried his Arms into the Country of the Enemy. He furniſh'd himſelf with Boats for a Bridge to tranſport his Forces over the River *Tigris*, from the Woods about the City of *Niſibis*; becauſe the Country upon the Banks of that River affords no Timber for that purpoſe. The Boats were all brought from thence to the River upon Land-Carriages; being built in that manner, that they were to be taken aſunder, and joyned again into a Bridge at Pleaſure. Which was done; and the Bridge was laid over the *Tigris* at the Foot of the Mountain *Cardynus*; not without the great annoyance of the Enemy on the other ſide, who were Poſted to oppoſe it. To give whom a Diverſion, whilſt the Bridge was fitting with all ſpeed, as *Trajan* had Men and Boats in plenty, he Armed out ſome Boats with Archers and other Soldiers, and detached them againſt the Barbarians. He detached others to be moving up and down, as it were to try to Land in other places, which ſo diſtracted the Barbarians, and eſpecially they were ſo ſurprized to ſee ſuch a number of Shipping gotten together in a Country that is deſtitute of Wood, that they gave way, and the *Roman* Army paſſed the River.

Trajan *proceeds in his Expedition.*

The

The *Roman* Army landed in the Country of *Adiabene*, which is a part of *Assyria*, and *Assyria* was then under the Obedience of the King of *Parthia*. They took all *Adiabene*, and the Towns of *Arbela* and *Gaugamela*, where *Alexander the Great* did heretofore overthrow *Darius*. The Barbarians call it *Atyria*, instead of *Assyria*, changing the Letters *ss* into *t*. But as the Forces of the *Parthians* had been diminished in their Civil Wars, and still they were at Variance with one another, there was such a scarcity of the Enemy to make Opposition to the March of the *Romans*, that they came up to the City of *Babylon*.

He comes to Babylon.

Here *Trajan* beheld the Lake of *Bitumen*, with which the famous Walls of *Babylon* were built. It is a sort of a Slime so Clammy and so Strong, that when it is mixt with Brick and Pebbles, it makes a Wall that is stronger than any Stone, and Iron it self. He view'd the Mouth of it, from whence proceeds such a noxious Stench, that it kills all the Beasts, and all the Birds that are brought within its reach. And certainly did it arise much higher, to disperse it self far and wide in the Air, it would render the place Uninhabitable. But it Circulates within it self, and does not exceed its limits. I have seen such another Lake as this at the City of *Hierapolis* in the *Lesser Asia*, and I made an Experiment of it in Birds; my self being in an Upper Apartment, from whence I overlook'd it. For it is shut up in a sort of a Cistern, and above it is built a Convenience, where you look down and see the

fatal

fatal effects of this Stench in ſafety. It kills every thing, Living: *Men only excepted, that have been Gelt.* I do not underſtand the reaſon of this. But I ſpeak the things that I have ſeen, as I ſaw them, and the things that I have heard, as I heard them.

Trajan was once deſigning to make a Cutt for the River *Euphrates* upon which *Babylon* ſtands, to fall into the *Tigris*; that paſſing his Veſſels by that Cut, out of the Firſt into the other River, he might give himſelf a Bridge to March his Army over the *Tigris* to the Siege of *Cteſiphon* in *Aſſyria*. But when he underſtood that the Bed of the *Euphrates* was much higher than the Bed of the *Tigris*, he forbore that deſign, leſt the abundance of the Water running into the Lower Bed ſhould render the *Euphrates* unnavigable. So he mounted his Veſſels upon Land-Carriages, and brought them to the *Tigris* over the little Streight of Land which is betwixt the two Rivers; and having paſſed his Army, and taken the City of *Cteſiphon* from the *Parthians*, he was Confirm'd in the Title of the *Conquerour of the Parthians*, and the Senate of *Rome* decreed, that he ſhould enjoy what Triumphs, and what Feſtivals for the Honour of his Victories, ſoever he pleaſed. *Cteſiphon taken.*

After he had taken *Cteſiphon*, his Curioſity led him to go on Board his Fleet, and Sail for the *Red Sea*; which is a Branch of the *Indian* Ocean, and called *Erythræum Mare*, that is, the *Red Sea*, from a King of the Name of *Erythrus*, *His Expedition to the* Red Sea.

Erythræus, who was ſometime very Powerful upon it. He took in his way the Iſland of *Meſſene*, which is in the *Tigris*, the King whereof was *Athambylus*, without any difficulty: only the Winter, the rapidity of the *Tigris*, and the Tides of the Ocean were ſomething dangerous. The Town of *Spaſinum*, belonging to *Athambylus*, received him well. From thence he came upon the Ocean, where informing himſelf in the Nature thereof, and diſcovering a Ship that was bound to *India*, he ſaid, *Was I Young, I would certainly make a Viſit to the* Indians. He enquired much about them, and their Actions, and admired the Happineſs of *Alexander*, who had Conquered them, and who had gone ſo much further than he. He writ the ſame to the Senate; But yet at the ſame time he was not able, what he had already Conquered to keep. The Senate decreed ſeveral things in his Honour; and amongſt the reſt, that in relation to as many Nations as he pleaſed, his Succeſſes ſhould be adorn'd with Triumphs. For they were more than were known to them, ſo much as by Name, as they continually underſtood by his Accounts. They ſet up in his Honor a Triumphal Arch in his own *Forum*, and the Citizens prepared themſelves to go a great way to meet him, at his return to *Rome*. But he never came thither; nor was the End of his Actions ſuitable to his Beginnings, becauſe what he had Conquered, he loſt again.

Honour done to him by the Senate.

In

In the time that he was Sailing for his Pleasure upon the *Indian* Ocean, all his Conquests were chang'd and revolted, and the Garrisons which he had left amongst them were either turned out or killed. It was nothing but the Fame of the *Indian* Ocean which had drawn him thither, together with his Honour for the Memory of *Alexander the Great*, to whom he had sometime sacrificed in the House, in which he dyed at *Babylon*. But as he met with nothing worthy of that Fame; Fables and Prospects of Ruins were his only Entertainments.

A general Revolt.

He was as yet on Board, when the News was brought to him of the revolt of his Conquests; against whom, he dispatched *Lucius* and *Maximus*. *Maximus* was defeated and killed. *Lucius* acquitted himself very well, and amongst other things recovered the City of *Nisibis*, Storm'd, Plundered, and Burnt the City of *Rhoa*, whilst *Erycius Clarus*, and *Julius Alexander* took and burnt the City of *Seleucia*. In the mean time, fearing lest the *Parthians* of *Ctesiphon* should attempt something, *Trajan* was willing to oblige them, by giving them, instead of a *Roman* Governour, a King of their own. He Assembled, when he came to *Ctesiphon*, all the *Romans*, and all the *Parthians* that were there into a large Plain; and raising himself upon a high Throne, and glorying in the great Actions that he had done, he appointed *Parthamaspates* King of the *Parthians*, and put the Crown upon him.

Trajan gives a King to the Parthians.

Expedition against the Hagarens.

Then he came into *Arabia*, to Reduce there the People called the *Hagarens*, who had alſo Revolted. Their Town is neither Great nor Rich; but the Country adjoyning to it is for the moſt part a Deſart; without Water, which it ſeldom hath, and then it is naught; without Wood, and without Forage: all which make it impoſſible for a great number of Men to lye long before it, defended as it alſo is by the heats of the Sun, to which it is expoſed. So it was neither taken by *Trajan* then, nor by *Severus* afterwards, though they both made Breaches in part of the Walls. *Trajan* diſguiſed himſelf, and Headed a Body of Horſe up to the Walls in Perſon; but his Horſe returned in an ill Condition to the Camp, and himſelf eſcaped very narrowly: For the Barbarians believing it was he, by his Age and Preſence, ſhot at him, and killed a Horſeman that was next him. It Thundered and Lightened, Rainbows appeared in the Clouds, Storms of Hail and Wind fell upon the *Romans*, when they made their Attacks. The Flyes rendred their Victuals and their Drink nauſeous. So *Trajan* raiſed the Siege, and fell ſick not long after.

Jewiſh Barbarity.

About this time the *Jews* about *Cyrene* in *Africa*, Commanded by one *Andrew*, whom they had ſet up over them, committed great Slaughters upon both the *Romans* and *Grecians*, They Eat their Fleſh, made themſelves Garlands of their Guts, waſhed themſelves in their Blood, and Cloathed themſelves in their Skins.

They

They ſawed many in Two, from the Head, with Saws. They threw others to Wild Beaſts. They forced others to fight till they kill'd one another. About two hundred and twenty thouſand Perſons were deſtroyed by this means. They did the like in *Egypt*, and in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, under the Command of *Artemion*; where two hundred and forty thouſand Perſons more were deſtroy'd. For which reaſon, it is, that it is forbidden a *Jew* to ſet foot upon that Iſland; even though by Storm he is driven upon it, he is to be put to death. At length they were reduced under Obedience again, as by others, ſo particularly by *Lucius*, who was ſent againſt them by *Trajan*. Jews quell'd.

Trajan was reſolved to have carried the War anew into *Meſopotamia*, if his ſickneſs, increaſing upon him, had not obliged him to ſet Sail towards *Italy*, and to commit to *Publius Ælius Hadrian* the Command of the Army in *Syria*. And now all the Pains that had been taken, and all the Dangers which had been run by the *Romans*, in the Conqueſt of *Armenia*, the greateſt part of *Meſopotamia*, and the *Parthians*, became in vain: for the *Parthians* turn'd off King *Parthamaſpates*, of the appointment of *Trajan*, and betook themſelves to be Governed by their own Meaſures.

Trajan ſuſpected, in his own mind, that he was poiſoned: but others ſay that he had been uſed every year to void Blood downward, and

that this Evacuation had ſtopped; that he had a Dead Palſie upon him, and was inſenſible in a part of his Body; and that he was all over Dropſical. He came as far as to the City *Iclenos*, which is otherwiſe called *Trajanople* from him, in *Cilicia*, in the *Leſſer Aſia*, and there immediately dyed; having Reigned nineteen Years, ſix Months, and fifteen Days.

Death of Trajan.

Dio Caſſ. lib. 67.

HE had been Conſul in Conjunction with *Acilius Glabrio*, in the Reign of *Domitian*, and then received ſome Omens of his future Reign.

Dio Caſſ. lib. 69.

HE was a Native of the ſame Town in *Spain* with *Hadrian*, whoſe Guardian he was, and to whom he married his Niece. He dyed without Children, and his Aſhes were interred in the Column of his own Work.

Eutrop. Caſſiodor. & Victor.

THE Town in *Spain*, at which *Trajan* was born, was *Old Sevil* in the *Lower Andaluzia*. He lived ſixty three Years, nine Months, and four Days. He was Proclaim'd Emperor at *Cologne* in *Germany*. The Height of

of his Column was one hundred and forty, or one hundred forty and four Feet. The Younger *Pliny*, born at the City of *Como* in the Dutchy of *Milan*, who was a famous Orator and Hiſtorian, flouriſhed in his time, who has left us a Panegyric on this Emperor, pronounc'd by him the firſt day of his Conſulſhip.

THE Life and Reign OF THE EMPEROR *Publius Ælius Hadrian.*

Written by

ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS:

And Addreſſed to the

EMPEROR *DIOCLESIAN.*

His Extraction.

IF we take the Original of the Emperor *Hadrian* at the higheſt, it is to be derived from the Antient People of the *Marca d' Ancona*, and particularly from the Town of *Adria* in *Italy*, which was the Place which his Anceſtors were of, before they removed into *Spain*; where, as himſelf ſays in the Account

Account which he writes of his own Life, they ſettled in *Sevilla la Vieja*, or *Old Sevile*, in the times of the *Scipio's*. His more immediate Deſcent was from that Family in *Spain*. *Ælius Hadrian Afer* was his Father, who was Couſin-German to the Emperor *Trajan*. His Mother was *Domitia Paulina*, who was Originally of *Cadiz*. His Siſter *Paulina* married *Servianus*. His Wife was *Sabina*, and his great Grand-father's Grand father, *Marullinus*, was the firſt of the Family who was a Senator of the City of *Rome*. He was born at *Rome* upon the Nineth of the Calends of *February*, in the Year when *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* were the Conſuls, which was then the Seventh time of the Conſulſhip of the firſt, and the Fifth of that of the other. In the Tenth Year of his Age, he loſt his Father, and received for his Guardians, his Kinſman, *Ulpius Trajan*, who had been then a *Prætor*, and afterwards arrived to be Emperor, together with *Cælius Tatianus*, a *Roman* Gentleman.

His Studies.

In his Fifteenth Year after having finiſhed his *Greek*, unto which his Genius inclined him in that manner, that by ſome he was called by the Name of the *Little Grecian*; he went into *Spain*, where he entred immediately into the Army, and was eager of exerciſing himſelf in Hunting, almoſt to a Fault. *Trajan* re-called him out of that Country unto *Rome* again, where he lived with him as his Son; and it was not long before he was put into the Commiſſion of the *Decemviri*. He was removed from thence to be the *Tribune* or Colonel of the *Second Auxi-*

tieth Legion. After that, he was tranſlated into the *Lower Mœſia*, which was about the latter end of the Reign of *Domitian*. In *Mœſia*, he was informed by an Aſtrologer of the ſame thing, as to his future Succeſſion to the Empire, which he had heard, that his great Uncle *Ælius Hadrian*, who alſo was ſkill'd in the Doctrine of Nativities, had ſometime before predicted concerning him. He was ſent out of *Mœſia* at the time that *Trajan* was adopted by *Nerva*, with the Congratulations of the Army to the Emperor, upon the Subject of that Adoption. *Nerva* tranſlated him into the *Upper Germany*, from whence he haſtned, upon the News of the Death of *Nerva*, to be the firſt who ſhould bring it unto *Trajan*. And altho' he was by *Servianus*, his Siſter's Huſband, who had endeavoured to poſſeſs *Trajan* againſt him, by telling him of his Expences, and his Debts, not only a long time detain'd, but furniſhed alſo with a Carriage that broke by the way, on purpoſe to ſtop his haſte: He nevertheleſs proſecuted his Journey afterwards on Foot with that diligence, that he came up to *Trajan* before the Expreſs, which the ſame *Servianus* diſpatched upon the ſame occaſion. And *Trajan* continued to love him, but yet he was not without thoſe Enemies who repreſented him to that Prince, who was a Lover of Boys, to be as it were his Rival in that ſort of Pleaſure And becauſe he was ſolicitous in this Conjuncture, to know what the Inclination of *Trajan* towards him was, as to his Adopting him to ſucceed in the Empire,

Preſages concerning him.

His Diligence.

pire, he conſulted his Fortune by Lots, in which he was anſwered in certain Verſes out of *Virgil* that favoured his deſire. Others ſay, That he received a Lot of the ſame nature out of the Verſes of the *Sibyls*. But that which was a greater Preſage to him ſtill than all this, of the Empire unto which he ſhould ſucceed, was, an Anſwer which he received from an Oracle of *Jupiter Nicephorus*, which *Apollonius Syrus* the *Platoniſt* hath ſet down in his Works. In fine, by the interpoſition of *Suras* in his Favour, he eaſily attained unto a higher Degree than ever of Favour with *Trajan*, whoſe Niece by his Siſter's ſide, he married, which was a Match that was encouraged by *Plotina*, and conſented unto by *Trajan*, as *Marius Maximus* ſays, at leaſt in ſome meaſure.

He was a Queſtor in the Year when *Trajan* and *Articuleius* were the Conſuls, which was then the Fourth time of the Conſulſhip of *Trajan*. In this Office being to recite in the Senate, an Harangue made by the Emperor to them, and being laught at for his ill pronunciation of it, he ſet himſelf upon the Study of the *Latin* in that manner, that he acquired himſelf at length the greateſt Skill and Eloquence in that Language. After his Queſtorſhip, he was made the Clerk to the Senate. Next he waited upon *Trajan* to the War againſt *Dacia*; at which time, how intimate he was with him, may be ſeen by this; that he ſays himſelf, *That he indulged to Drinking out of Obedience to the Pleaſure and Methods of* Trajan; and

He is made Queſtor.

And Tribune.

and this gained him yet greater Favours from him. He was made a *Tribune of the People* in the Year of the Second Conſulſhips of *Candidus* and *Quadratus*. In this Magiſtracy, it was an *Omen* (he ſays) to him *of a perpetual Tribunitian Power*; that is, of the Crown, that in wearing the *Pænulæ*, (a ſort of Hanging-Coat) as the *Tribunes of the People* were uſed to do in time of Rain, but the Emperors of that Age never, that Garment had ſlipped off from him. In the ſecond Expedition againſt *Dacia*, *Trajan* gave him the Command of the Firſt *Legion* of the Name of *Minervia*, and took him along with him. He diſtinguiſh'd himſelf there by a great many fine Actions, inſomuch that *Trajan* preſented him with the ſame Diamond that himſelf had been before preſented with by *Nerva*, which ſerved farther to raiſe his Hopes. He was a *Prætor* under the ſecond Conſulſhips of *Suranus* and *Servianus*; at the ſame time he received from *Trajan* Forty Thouſand *Seſterces* towards the Charges of the publick Games, with which he treated the People. After this, being made the *Pro-Prætor* of the *Lower Pannonia*, he bridled the *Sarmatæ*, diſciplined the Army, and reſtrained the Procurators of the Province from exceeding, as they did, the juſt Limits of their Power; for theſe Services he was made a Conſul. In which Magiſtracy, as ſoon as it was underſtood from *Suras*, that he was to be adopted by *Trajan*, he was accordingly reſpected by all, who deſired to preſerve the Favour of their Prince. After the Death of

And Conſul.

Suras,

Suras, his Intereſt with *Trajan* did ſtill increaſe, becauſe he ſucceeded into the Office of *Suras*, to write his Prince's Speeches, and his Letters as his Secretary; beſides all which, he had the Favour of *Plotina*, by whoſe means he was appointed the Lieutenant of *Syria*, in the time of the Expedition againſt *Parthia*.

His Friendſhips.

The Perſons with whom he at this time entertained a Friendſhip, were *Soſſius Pappus* and *Pletorius Nepos*, of the Order of the *Senators*; and *Tatianus*, who was before his Guardian, and *Martius Livianus Turbo*, of that of the Gentlemen; *Palmas* and *Celſus* had been always his Enemies. But now thoſe two being faln into Diſgrace upon a Suſpicion of a Deſign to uſurp the Empire. This facilitated the Buſineſs of *Hadrian*'s Adoption, ſo that being through the Favour of *Plotina*, created a Conſul a ſecond time, he indeed conceived within himſelf entire Aſſurances of that Happineſs. It was the Opinion of many, that he had to this end corrupted alſo the Servants of *Trajan*, and had made very much of the *Boys* who were *Trajan*'s Paramours, and had furniſhed them with Oyntments and Waſhes in the time that he was converſant about the Court. However that is, the Letters of his Adoption came to him into *Syria*, whereof he then was *Lieutenant*, upon the Fifth of the *Ides* of *Auguſt*, which Day he therefore commanded to be celebrated for a Feſtival for the ſame. Upon the Third of the ſame *Ides*, he received the News of the Death of *Trajan*, he commanded that Day to be celebrated for the Feſtival

He is adopted.

Feſtival of his acceſſion to the Empire. It had been many times before thought, that *Trajan*'s Deſign was to have left *Neratius Priſcus*, and not *Hadrian* his Succeſſor; becauſe many of his Friends had agreed with him in *Priſcus*, to whom he ſometimes alſo had ſaid publickly, *If I die, I recommend the Empire to you.* Others ſay, That *Trajan* ſometime had it in his Thought to die after the Example of *Alexander* of *Macedonia*, without appointing any certain Succeſſor. Again, others tell us, That it was likewiſe in his Mind to have ſent a Letter to the Senate, to let them know, that if he died, they themſelves ſhould give a Prince to the Empire of *Rome*; adding, as from him, ſome Names only, out of which they were at their Liberty to chuſe the *Beſt*. Neither do we want thoſe who have pretended, that the Adoption of *Hadrian* was a Trick, wrought by the Power of *Plotina*, after *Trajan* was dead, by ſuppoſiting a Perſon to ſpeak the Thing for *Trajan*, in a languiſhing Voice.

And poſſeſt of the Empire.

However it was, *Hadrian* poſſeſſed himſelf of the Empire, and falling in immediately with the uſual Methods of Buſineſs, he deſired to ſecure and eſtabliſh, as much as poſſible, the Peace of all Parts. In the mean time the Nations which *Trajan* had Conquered, had Revolted. The *Moors* were making Incurſions upon the Frontier Provinces; the *Sarmatæ* had declared Open War, the *Britains* could not be contained under the *Roman* Power, *Egypt* was diſturbed with Seditions, and *Lycia* and *Paleſtine* lifted up their Heads to a Rebellion. There-

Therefore as for all the Countries beyond the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, *Hadrian* even relinquiſhed theſe by the Example as he ſaid of *Cato*, *who pronounced the* Macedonians *a Free People, becauſe they would not be kept in ſubjection.* And as he had obſerved, that *Parthamaſpates*, the King of *Parthia*, of the Appointment of *Trajan*, was of no great Conſideration amongſt that People, he removed him from thence to be the King over ſome other Neighbouring Nations. He began his Reign in Clemency, whereunto he ſhew'd a great Regard by this Inſtance; that having in ſome of the firſt Days of it, had Notice given him by *Tatianus*, by Letters, of Three Perſons; whom he adviſed him, that he ſhould put them to Death; who were, *Babius Macer*, the Governour of the City, in caſe he in the leaſt oppoſed his Authority; *Laberius Maximus*, then in Baniſhment in an Iſland, becauſe he was ſuſpected to aſpire at the Empire, and *Frugi Craſſus*; yet nevertheleſs, he ſpared them all Three: For altho' the Governour of the Iſland where *Craſſus* was, did execute him for an Eſcape which he would have made, with a Deſign of fomenting New Diſorders, yet was that Execution a thing that was done without *Hadrian*'s Command. He doubled the uſual Donative to the Soldiers, for a good Preſage, to welcome in his Reign. He took away the Government of *Mauritania* from *Luſius Quietus*, and diſmiſs'd him, becauſe he was one who was ſuſpected to aim alſo at the Empire; and when *Martius Turbo* had finiſhed the Reduction

His Clemency.

duction of the *Jews*, he appointed him Governour of *Mauritania*, and to go and repress the Commotions which were there. He made a Journey out of *Antioch* to meet and receive with Respect the *Ashes* of *Trajan*, as they were upon the Road, under the Conduct of *Tatianus*, *Plotina*, and *Mattidia*. And having imbarked them in a Vessel for *Rome*, and being returned again into *Antioch*, he constituted *Catilius Severus* Governour of *Syria*, and then came himself to *Rome* by the way of *Illyricum*.

Honour done to Trajan.

He first sent Letters which were very accurately writ to the Senate, to desire, *That they should make* Trajan *a God*; to which the Senate agreed unanimously, and even voted a great many more Things of their own accord, to his Honour than what *Hadrian* had mentioned to them. At the same time, Writing to the Senate, he asked their Pardon, *That he had not submitted his Judgment to them in the Affair of his assuming the Empire, the Occasion whereof had been this, that he had been saluted Emperor by the Army in Haste, because the State could not be without a Head to it.* The Senate voted him the same Triumph, which was to have been given unto *Trajan*. He refused it for himself, but accepted it for the Image of *Trajan* to be carried in a Triumphal Chariot, that that Incomparable Emperor should not be without the Honor which he so well merited, no not though he was dead. The *Title of Pater Patriæ*, or *Father of his Country*, which was Twice offered him, he declined, because it had been late in the Reign of *Augustus* e'er this Title had

had been aſſumed by that Prince. He remitted to *Italy* all the Duties which they were to pay him upon his coming to the Crown, and abated the ſame to the Provinces, altho' it was very well known, that at the ſame time the Treaſury was ſtreightened for Money. Then receiving Advice of an Inſurrection of the *Sarmatæ*, and the *Roxolani*, he commanded his Troops into *Mæſia*, and went thither in Perſon after them. He preferred *Martius Turbo*, after he had adminiſtred the Government of *Mauritania*, to the Preſidentſhip of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*. As to the Affair of the *Roxolani*, he compoſed that by a Treaty, and a Peace was eſtabliſhed betwixt them and *Hadrian*.

He had ſometime deſigned to appoint *Nigrinus* to be his Succeſſor in the Empire; but *Nigrinus* became guilty of a Conſpiracy againſt the Life of *Hadrian*, which was to be executed as *Hadrian* aſſiſted at the Sacrifices: *Luſius* and many others were in the ſame Plot with him, which *Hadrian* eſcaping, hereupon *Palmas* at *Terracina*, *Celſus* at *Baiæ*, *Nigrinus* at *Faenza*, *Luſius* upon the Road, by the Order of the Senate, were all killed. And becauſe theſe Executions might be a means of creating an ill Opinion of him in the Minds of the People, as if it had been, tho' really it was not, as he ſays, by his Will, but by the Will of the Senate, that Four Perſons, all of Conſular Dignity, were ſacrificed ſo all together: *Hadrian* came preſently to *Rome*, committing *Dacia* unto the Government of *Turbo*, whom to add to his Authority, he had likewiſe honoured

A Conſpiracy againſt him.

honoured with the Title of the *Præfecture* of *Egypt*: And at *Rome* he careſſed the People to ſtifle the Apprehenſions which were there of him, with a double Largeſs upon his arrival, which was over and above a Bounty of three Pieces of Gold a head, which had been divided amongſt them, in his abſence before. He acquitted himſelf before all the Senate of the Fact that had paſſed; and as for his own part, he took his Oath, that he would never puniſh a Senator, otherwiſe than according to the very Sentence of the Senate. He proceeded to eaſe the particular Towns and Magiſtrates of the Charge of the *publick Poſt* and Carriages, by ordering them to be maintained out of the *Exchequer*; in fine, to omit nothing to make himſelf to be eſteemed, he forgave an infinite number of Debts, which were due to the *Exchequer* from private Perſons in the City, and all over the Country; as alſo he remitted the Arrears of great Sums which were due from the Provinces; the Bonds and Regiſters relating whereunto were all burnt in the *Forum* of *Trajan*, for a full Security to every one againſt thoſe Claims. He ſuffered it not, that the Eſtates of Perſons condemned, ſhould be confiſcated into his private Coffers, but ordered them all to be return'd into the publick Treaſury. And as *Trajan* had begun to provide for the Support of the poor Infants of both Sexes, who were not by the Law to be admitted to the general Dole before ſuch an Age, ſo *Hadrian* enlarged that Munificence, and made an Addition to their Penſion. Unto ſuch

His Bounty.

ſuch of the Senators as were reduc'd, but had not conſumed their Fortunes by their ill Lives and Debauchery, he ſet out Penſions ſuitable to their Quality, and ſuitable to the Number of the Children which they had; continuing the ſame to many to their Deaths. It was not only to his Favourites to whom he extended his Bounty, but to others he generouſly gave great Things, to enable them to acquit themſelves in their Offices with Honour. To ſome neceſſitous Women he allowed Penſions towards their Maintenance. The Games of the *Gladiators* were exhibited Six Days together, and a Thouſand wild Beaſts at his Charge were expoſed to be hunted and taken upon the Anniverſary of his Birth.

His Prudence and Moderation.

He choſe himſelf out of the principal Perſons of the Senate, an Imperial Council. He refuſed to accept of any other of the Games of the *Cirque*, which were decreed in his Honour, than ſuch as thoſe which were celebrated upon his Birth-Day. He ſaid many times, both in his Diſcourſe, and to the Senate, *That his Government ſhould be ſuch, that the World ſhould ſee, it was the Intereſt of the People which he minded, and not his own.* As he was three times Conſul himſelf, ſo he advanced ſeveral Thrice to that Dignity: And for the Honor of a Second Conſulſhip, he beſtowed that upon a multitude of Perſons. The Third time that himſelf was Conſul, he officiated it no longer than Four Months; but yet he often ſat in Perſon in Judgment. He never was abſent from the Senate, when he was either

in Town, or nigh the Town upon the Solemn Days of meeting. He carried the Honour of the Senate so high, and made such a Difficulty of creating Senators, that when he created *Tatianus*, who was a Captain of the Guards, and had had all the Ornaments given him of a Consul; he told him, *That he had nothing in his Power to confer upon him, that was a greater Honour.* He did not give leave to those of the Order of the Knights and Gentlemen, to sit in Judgment either without, or with him, in a Cause which concerned the Life of a Senator; altho' until then, it had been the Custom, that when the Emperor takes the Cognisance of a Cause in Person, he call'd not only the Senators, but the *Roman* Gentlemen unto his Assistance, and pronounced Sentence according to the Opinions of all together. In fine, he proceeded even to execrate those Princes who had had a lesser Consideration for the Senators than they ought. He retained so great a respect for *Servianus*, his Sister's Husband, who had been Twice Consul before him, that he always went out of his Chamber to meet him coming; and he created him a Consul the Third time, without his solicitations for it; the Honour whereof was imperfect in nothing but this, that he did not take him to be his own Colleague in that Third Consulship.

His Respect for the Senate.

His Imperfections.

In the mean time, this is yet to be remembred of this Prince, that he abandoned a great many Provinces which had been by *Trajan* acquired to the Empire; and the Theatre which

which had been built by *Trajan* in the *Campus Martius*, he deſtroyed, contrary to the deſires of all the World. And certainly theſe things ſeemed to be ſo much the worſe, as he knew very well himſelf that they were diſpleaſing, and yet he pretended that in doing them, he accompliſhed the Orders which had been left him by *Trajan*. He was willing when he became weary of the Power of *Tatianus*, the Captain of the Guards, who had been formerly his Tutor, to have had him murdered; but that which call'd him off from thoſe Thoughts, was, he had already a great deal of ill will upon him, upon the occaſion of the Murder of thoſe Four Conſular Perſons before-mentioned, the *Odium* whereof he endeavoured to throw upon *Tatianus*. At length *Tatianus*, of his own accord laid down his Commiſſion, which *Hadrian* conferred upon *Turbo*. *Similes* the other Captain of the Guards, laid down his, which *Hadrian* conferred upon *Septimius Clarus*. Nevertheleſs thoſe two, *Tatianus* and *Similes*, were Perſons who very well might have deſerved his utmoſt Favour. After this, he went a Progreſs into *Campania*, where he endeavoured to oblige all Places into which he came, with the Kindneſſes he did them, and the Largeſſes which he beſtowed amongſt them; admitting every where the Gentlemen of Eſtates and Quality to the Honour of his Friendſhip. At *Rome* he repair'd often in Perſon into the Courts of the Prætors and the Conſuls. He honoured his Miniſters with his Company at their Houſes. When they were Sick, he viſited them Twice or Thrice a Day.

His Affability and Complaiſance.

He viſited ſome, when Sick, who were no more than Servants that he had manumitted, Comforting them in their Infirmities, and Aſſiſting them with his Counſels. He received his Friends to his Table, and was as Eaſy always with them, as if he was a private Man. The Honours which he beſtowed upon his Mother-in Law at her Death, were the greateſt that were poſſible, in the Games of the *Gladiators*, which he exhibited, and in all other Rites, whereby he ſhewed his Duty to her.

He goes into Gaul *and* Germany.

Then he went into *Gallia*, where he ſignalized himſelf by his great Bounties, and his forwardneſs to Relieve all Perſons that were in Neceſſity and Want. From thence he went into *Germany*, and tho' he was one who was a greater Lover of Peace than War, yet here he Exerciſed the Soldiers, as if he was immediately making ready for a War. He inculcated to them the Precepts of Patience, to teach them to be hardy, and to be able to ſuffer. He gave them in himſelf a Model of the Life of a Soldier, viſited them in their Tents; Eat and Drank in Publick of the ſame Proviſion as they did, that is, *Bacon*, *Cheeſe*, *and ſower Wine mixt with Water*, after the Examples of *Scipio Æmilianus*, *Metellus*, and his Father *Trajan*. Were his Commands harder upon them than ordinary, he gave them Money, or preferred them for their Encouragement. He revived as much as it was poſſible the antient Military Diſcipline, which through the Negligence of many Princes his Predeceſ-

His demeanor towards the Soldiery.

Predeceſſors, had been going to decay ever ſince the time of *Auguſtus*. He ſettled the Order of the Offices, and the Expences of the Army. He ſuffered no one to be abſent from the Camp without a juſt Cauſe. The *Tribunes* of his Creation were ſuch, as whoſe Merits recommended them to him, and not the Favour of the Soldiers. He excited all to do their Duty by the Example that he ſet in himſelf. He walked Twenty Miles together on Foot at the Head of them in his Arms. He put down the uſe of Arbors, ſhady Walks, Grotto's, and Bowers in the Camp. He was dreſſed many times in a very ordinary Coat, without any thing of Gold to his Belt, without Jewels to his Cloaths or Buckles, and the Hilt of his Sword ſcarce of Ivory. He viſited the Soldiers when they were Sick in their little Huts. He mark'd out the Camps. He made none a Centurion, who was not a ſtrong Man, and of good Repute: Nor a Tribune, unleſs he was of ſuch an Age, as by his Prudence and his Experience to be fit to ſupport the Weight of that Command. Neither did he permit the Tribunes to make the leaſt unlawful Gain of the Soldiers; nor any Perſons to ſerve themſelves of, nice and delicate Things, which were therefore wholly caſhiered the Camp. He examined their Arms and their Equipages whether Clean and Neat, and amended them as he ſaw Occaſion. He conſidered what Age every one was of, becauſe he would have none to ſerve in the Field contrary to the antient Cuſtom, who was either

too young to be of a proper Strength to bear Arms, or too old and paſt it. He took Care that his Soldiers were perſonally always known to him, and he kept an Account how many of them preciſely they were.

He gave himſelf the Trouble to examine into the State of the Magazines of Ammunition and Proviſions; and whether the Contributions of the Provinces were well paid, and into the State of the Provinces, that if any thing was amiſs any where, he might ſupply the Defect. Particularly, he deſired to cut off all ſuperfluous Expences, and that his Officers ſhould lay out their Money upon nothing that was of no uſe. So having modelled his Army to his own Pleaſure, he next ſet upon an Expedition into *Great Britain*, where as he corrected a great many Defaults, ſo he was the firſt who made a Wall there, that was Fourſcore Miles in Length, to ſerve for a Diviſion betwixt the *Barbarians* and the *Romans*. *Septimius Clarus*, a Captain of the Guards, and *Suetonius Tranquillus*, Secretary of the Diſpatches, with others, having converſed without his Leave, a little more familiarly with the Empreſs *Sabina*, than was well conſiſtent with the Honour of the Court, he turned them out, and put others into their places. And certainly, *he would*, as he ſaid, *have diſcharged his very Empreſs, as one that he conceived diſagreable and ill humored, had he been but as a private Perſon.* He was not only inquiſitive into all that paſſed in his own Houſhold, but likewiſe into the Houſes of his Neighbours; inſomuch, that by

His Wall in Britain.

His Intelligence.

by his Spies, he was told of all the ſecret Actions done amongſt them, whilſt they in the mean time never ſuſpected it, nor knew any thing of it, until himſelf diſcovered it. Upon which occaſion, it will not be unpleaſant to inſert a Paſſage wherein we may certainly ſee what a Knowledge he had of a great many things as to his Neighbours. A Perſon had received a Letter from his Wife, in which ſhe told him, *That he was ſo taken up with his Pleaſures and the Baths, that he made no Thoughts of returning again to her Arms.* *Hadrian* was informed of this by his Spies; ſo when that Perſon came to him to deſire the leave of him to retire Home, *Hadrian* gave him a gentle *Rub* of his Baths and his Pleaſures. *Sir,* ſays the Gentleman, *Hath my Wife written the ſame to your Majeſty, that ſhe hath written to me?* Indeed this Inquiſitiveneſs was thought to be a very great Fault in *Hadrian*; all the *Amours* of the *Sparks,* and the Secret Adulteries of the married Ladies he took the Pains to pry into; but which was worſe, he did not keep the Counſel when he had done, of his greateſt Friends.

After having ſettled the Affairs of *Great Britain,* he croſſed over into *Gallia,* where he received Advice of a Sedition in *Alexandria* in *Egypt,* ariſen about their God *Apis*; who having been brought to Light anew, after many Years that he had been loſt, the Diſpute in what City he ought to be plac'd, created ſtrange Diſorders amongſt the People, becauſe all of them earneſtly contended to have him. At *Niſmes* in *Languedoc,* he built a Temple to the

He arrives in Spain.

Honour of *Plotina*, which was an admirable Work. Then he went into *Spain*, and paſſed the Winter at *Tarragona*, where at his proper Charge he re-edified the Temple of *Auguſtus*; and having Aſſembled all the States of *Spain* together at *Tarragona*, he conſulted with them with great Prudence and Dexterity in the Politicks, conſidering their Diviſions about the raiſing of Levies amongſt them At *Tarragona* he eſcaped a very great Danger, and in a manner, which was not inglorious. As he was walking in a Garden, a Servant belonging to the Maſter of the Houſe where he was, ran upon him furiouſly with a drawn Sword, to kill him, *Hadrian* cloſed with the Man, and took him Priſoner and delivered him to the Cuſtody of the Guards, who were flocking in to his Aſſiſtance. But when it was plainly ſeen that the Man was Mad, he ſent him to the Phyſicians to be cured, and took no more Notice of the Matter. In many Places where the *Barbarians* are not ſeparated from the *Romans* by Rivers, but only by Land-marks, he made Walls of Earth, ſupported by Stakes, and ſtrengthened with Palliſadoes for a Partition betwixt them. He appointed a King over the *Germans*; he ſuppreſſed the Commotions of the *Moors*, ſo that he merited the Honour from the Senate to have Sacrifices and Solemn Prayers offered for him. The *Parthians* did but make a meen or ſingle Motion towards a War, but it was compoſed again by one Conference with *Hadrian*.

After

After this he came by Sea along the Coaſt of *Aſia*, and the Iſlands, unto the Province of *Achaia*, where he was initiated in the *Eleuſinian* Rites, after the Examples of *Hercules*, and King *Philip*. He was very generous to the *Athenians*, and preſided at their Games. He ſailed from thence to *Sicily*, where he had the Curioſity to viſit the top of the Mountain *Ætna*, from thence to view the Riſing Sun; how various they ſay, it appears there in its Colours, in the Nature of thoſe of the Rainbow. From *Sicily* he came home to *Rome*, and from *Rome* he croſſed the Sea again into *Africa*, leaving many Marks of his Liberality upon the Provinces of that Country; ſo that one may ſay, that ſcarce never hath there been a Prince known to Travel over ſo much Land, and with ſo much diſpatch as he. He had no ſooner returned back to *Rome* out of *Africa*, but he ſet upon a New Voyage into the *Eaſt*, and took his way through *Athens*. The Works which he had begun at *Athens*, he now finiſhed and dedicated; amongſt the reſt, the Temple and the Altar of *Jupiter Olympius*. In *Aſia*, as he travelled, he likewiſe Conſecrated Temples there, which abide as ſo many Memorials of his Name. Whilſt he was in *Cappadocia*, he admitted a Number of the People of that Country into the Service of his Army. He invited the Princes and the Kings of the Dominions where he came, to joyn in Friendſhip with him. Particularly he invited to his Friendſhip *Choſroes* the King of *Parthia*, to whom he returned his Daughter that *Trajan* had

Several other of his Voyages, &c.

had formerly taken Captive, promiſing the ſame as to a Chair of State, which had been then likewiſe taken and carried away in that War. He received thoſe Kings when they came, ſo generouſly, and treated them in that manner, that others who ſtaid away upon the Account, eſpecially of *Phariſmanes*, who inſolently ſlighted him, might have an occaſion to repent themſelves. As he traverſed the Provinces, he puniſhed ſome Procurators, and ſome Preſidents of them for their Malverſations ſo ſeverely, that they ſaid, he had a mind certainly to encourage Accuſers to appear againſt them.

He had a great Diſpleaſure againſt the People of *Antioch*, wherefore it was in his Thoughts to ſeparate *Syria* from *Phœnicia*, that *Antioch* ſhould not be ſaid to be the Metropolis of ſo many Cities. The *Jews* about this time broke into a War, becauſe they were forbidden to Circumciſe themſelves. He went upon the Mountain *Liſon*, which is near *Antioch*, in the Night, for the Curioſity of obſerving from thence the Riſing-Sun. *Jupiter* was worſhipped upon that Mountain, to whom, as *Hadrian* was Sacrificing there, a violent Storm aroſe with Thunder and Lightning, which blaſted both the Victim and the Prieſt. He traverſed *Arabia*, and came to the City of *Peluſium* or *Belvais* in *Egypt*. The Tomb of *Pompey* which is at this City being decayed, he rebuilt it with greater Magnificence.

As he was ſailing upon the *Nile*, his dear *Antinous* died, for whom he wept with all the tender-

tenderneſs, and the weakneſs of a Woman weeping for her Husband. There are ſeveral reports about that Youth. Some ſay that he devoted himſelf a Sacrifice for *Hadrian*. Others, that he was what his Beauty might probably incite him to be, and the too great Pleaſure which *Hadrian* took in a Burdaſh However it was, the *Grecians*, at the deſire of *Hadrian*, made a God of him; and we are told of Oracles which have been uttered by him; but they are rather ſome ſuppoſed Compoſitions of *Hadrian*; who was excellent at Verſe, and indeed at all ſorts of the *Belles Lettres*. For he had a great Hand at Arithmetick, Geometry, and Painting. He underſtood Muſick, and played perfectly well upon many Inſtruments, and Sung. Loving his Pleaſures ſo exceſſively, as he did, he could not but Compoſe many Poems of his Amours. Together with which he was a Maſter in the matter of Arms; had the Military Art in perfection, and was skilled at the Weapons of the Gladiatours. He was a Perſon equally Severe and Pleaſant, Affable and Grave; Active and Conſiderate, Cloſe and Liberal, Cruel and Merciful, in all things ever various.

His Grief for Antinous.

He enriched his Friends, though they never did ask him any favour; and to others upon their asking he denyed nothing. But yet he was eaſie to give ear to every Tale which was but whiſpered concerning them. And this was the occaſion, that almoſt all thoſe whom either he had dearly loved, or whom he had raiſed to the higheſt Honours,

were

His Severity and Injuſtice.

were afterwards treated by him as Enemies; as was *Tatianus*, *Nepos*, and *Septimius Clarus*. Thus alſo *Eudæmon*, who had once been Privy to all his Counſels, and his Confident in the very Affair of his aſpiring to the Empire, was reduced by him to extreme Beggery. He conſtrained *Polyænus* and *Marcellus* to murder themſelves. He made the moſt notorious defamatory Libels upon *Heliodorus*. He ſuffered *Tatianus*, under a pretence of his being in a Conſpiracy againſt him, to be Arraigned and Proſcribed. He perſecuted *Numidius Quadratus*, *Catilius Severus*, and *Turbo*, very grievouſly. He put to death *Servianus*, his Siſters Husband, when he was in his Ninetieth Year, only becauſe he would be ſure, that he ſhould not out-live him. In fine, he Perſecuted without remiſſion both his Servants and his Soldiers. As ready as he was at his Compoſitions, always in Proſe and Verſe, and skilled in all the Liberal Arts; he yet laught at the Publick Profeſſors of the Arts, and triumphed over them; entered many times into Solemn Diſputes with all of them together, and with all the Philoſophers; only for the Glory of Compoſing better Books, or better Verſes than they. He excepted once particularly againſt a Word, which was uſed by *Favorinus*: who modeſtly ſubmitting himſelf to him in it; but being blamed by his Friends for yielding the Cauſe ſo in a Word for which there was ſufficient Authority to be produced out of good Authors; *Favorinus* made a very pleaſant Jeſt upon it. Says he, *My Friends*, *you*

you are much miſtaken, if you do not allow me to believe him to be a Learneder Man than us all, who is the Maſter of Thirty Legions.

So fond was he of his Glory, as to this Talent, that he writ his own Life, and afterwards gave it to his Servants (that were Scholars) to publiſh it only under their Names: Thus the Books under the name of *Phlegon*, are *Hadrians*. The *Catachriani* are his, which are extremely obſcure pieces, in imitation of *Antimachus*. The Poet *Florus*, having written to him, thus, as follows;

Ego nolo Cæſar eſſe,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati Pruinas.

That is,
I deſire not to be *Cæſar*,
To Ramble amongſt the *Britains*,
And be ſtarved with the Froſts of *Scythia*.

He anſwered him again thus;
Ego nolo Florus eſſe,
Ambulare per Tabernas,
Latitare per popinas,
Culices pati rotundos.

That is,
I deſire not to be *Florus*,
To Ramble amongſt the Taverns,
Skulk about the Eating-Houſes,
And be ſtung to death with Gnats.

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He

His Learning. He took more delight in the Antient Writings than the Modern, and was pleaſed with making Declamations. He preferred *Cato* to *Cicero*, *Ennius* to *Virgil*, and *Cælius* to *Saluſt*; the like Judgement he paſſed upon *Homer* and *Plato*. He pretended to underſtand *Judicial Aſtrology* ſo very well, that upon the Calends of *January* in the Evening he would conſtantly ſet down in Writing, what in the whole enſuing year afterwards was to happen to him; inſomuch that in that Year in which he died, he had written a Scheme of things, as far as to his laſt hour. But although he gave himſelf the liberty, as hath been ſaid, to reprehend the Muſicians, Tragedians, Comedians, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Philoſophers, and Oratours, and to teize them perpetually with Queſtions, yet he preſerved a real kindneſs for them, and honoured them with the marks of his eſteem: If he had been the occaſion, that many times they went diſſatisfied from him, he ſaid, *He however took it ill, if he ſaw any body do ſo.* He was more particularly familiar with the Philoſophers *Epictetus* and *Heliodorus*, *Phavorinus*, was much in his favour. And when theſe Doctors became by Age unfit any longer for their Profeſſions, he took care of them, and diſmiſt them from their Labours, with marks of Honour.

Some particular Liberalities, &c. The Enemies which he had in his Private Life, he forgave after he was Emperor. To one of them, his Expreſſion was, after he was Emperor, *It is well, you have Eſcaped me.* He gave always Horſes, Mules, Cloaths, Mo-

ny,

ny, and all their Equipages to his Officers that he ſent into the Provinces. He often ſent his Miniſters upon the Feaſts of *Saturn* Preſents, and accepted of others from them again. When he made a Royal Banquent for the Entertainment of a great number of Perſons of the Court and the City, he hath ordered Diſhes to be brought up to him from the lowermoſt Tables, to ſee whether they were well uſed there by the Servants of his Houſhold. His Preſents which he ſent at any time to Princes, always exceeded thoſe which they ſent to him. He frequently Bathed in Publick, and in the Company of all the World without diſtinction: which gave an occaſion to a pleaſant Paſſage, which was this. There was a *Veteran* Soldier at the Bath, whom he had known in the War, ſcrubbing his Back and his Body againſt the Wall in a Corner, by himſelf. *Hadrian* ſeeing him, asked him *what was his fancy to rub himſelf ſo againſt the Walls?* The Man ſaid, *It was, Becauſe he had never a Servant to rub him.* Immediately *Hadrian* ſent him one, and withal gave him an Eſtate to keep one. Another day, ſeveral other Old Men, in the like manner, were rubbing themſelves againſt the Wall, in hopes to provoke *Hadrian* to be as bountiful to them. But inſtead of that he ordered them to be called out, and to take their turns to rub down one another. He was a lover of the Common People, and took a glory in ſhewing it. Fond of Travelling, and whatever he had read in Books concerning any part of the Earth, he was willing to learn

learn the truth of it upon the Place. He endured the Cold and the Weather ſo hardily, that he never went with his Head covered. To ſeveral Kings of the Countries where he came, he paid a great deal of reſpect. The moſt part of whom entred into Leagues of Friendſhip with him; ſome indeed ſlighted him. And to many he made great Preſents, but no one Perſon greater than he did to *Phariſmanes* the King of *Iberia*; to whom, beſides other things which were Magnificent, he ſent fifty Elephants. The Preſents in return, which that King ſent to him, were alſo great. But among the reſt he had ſent Tunicks Embroydered in Gold: in deriſion of which, *Hadrian* ordered Three hundred Malefactours to be dreſſed in the like Tunicks embroydered in Gold, wherein to fight upon the publick Stage the Prizes of the Gladiatours.

When he ſate upon Judgment in Perſon, he took to his aſſiſtance not only his Courtiers and Friends, but the profeſſed Lawyers; eſpecially *Juventius Celſus*, *Salvius Julianus*, *Neratius Priſcus*, and others, who were Men Univerſally approved by the Senate. He ordered amongſt other things, that no Houſes in any City ſhould in any wiſe be taken down, for the ſake of rebuilding them in another, or transferring the Materials to another. He granted unto the Children of Perſons proſcribed, the twelfth part of the Eſtates of their Fathers. He admitted of no informations of High Treaſon. He refuſed to ſtand Heir to ſuch as he did not know; neither would he accept

accept the Inheritances of thoſe he did, in caſe they had Children of their own to enjoy them. Concerning *Treaſure-Trouve*, his Conſtitution was; that if the Party had found it in his own Ground, he ſhould take it to himſelf; if he found it in anothers, he ſhould give a Moiety of it to the Proprietor of that Ground; if he found it upon the publick Ground, he ſhould ſhare it equally with the Exchequer. He made it unlawful for Maſters to put their Slaves to death; and ordered, that Slaves ſhould be Tried and Condemned by the publick Judges as they deſerved it. His Law againſt ſuch as had conſumed their Eſtates, was, that if they were under their own Authority, they ſhould be expoſed to a publick Shame in the Amphitheatre, and then turned out of the Town. He took away the Private Priſons, for Servants and Slaves, which had uſed to be before in the Hands of their Maſters. He ſeparated the Baths for the diſtinct uſe of either Sex. If a Maſter was found kill'd in his Houſe, he ordered that not all the Slaves ſhould be put to the Queſtion about the Murder, but thoſe only who were near enough to have perceived and prevented it. *Some of his Laws.*

The Country of *Hetruria* nominated him to be their Prætor, and he was ſo, when he was Emperour. In like manner he was the Dictator, the *Ædilis*, and the *Duumvir*, that is, the Chief Magiſtrate ſo called, of ſeveral Towns in *Latium*. The City of *Naples* choſe him to be their *Demarchus*. The City of *Sevil* in *Spain*, and that of *Adria* in *Italy*, which

were the two Places of the Deſcent of him and his Anceſtours, choſe him to be their *Quinquennalis*. At *Athens* he was the *Archon*. In almoſt all the Cities where he came he Built, and gave publick Sports to the People. At *Athens* he exhibited a Chaſe in the *Stadium*, of above a Thouſand Wild Beaſts. He never ſerved himſelf upon theſe occaſions of any Huntſmen, or Players from the City of *Rome*. At *Rome* the Pleaſures of the Feſtivals, which he Celebrated to the Honour of his Mother-in-Law were infinite. Amongſt the reſt he made the People a Largeſs of Aromatick Sacrifices: and upon the Feſtivals to the honour of *Trajan* he commanded the ſeveral Seats of the Theatre to be perfumed with Balm and Saffron. He had Plays of all ſorts acted in the Theatre, as antiently. He permitted the Comedians of the Court to Act in the Plays which were given by private Perſons. He exhibited in the *Cirque* many wild Beaſts, and many times a hundred Lions to be killed at a time. He often treated the People with Anticks and Maſquerades. He often went to ſee the Combats of the Gladiators. Amongſt the infinite number of Works which he built in ſeveral places, he never cauſed his own Name to be Engraved upon any of them, but upon the Temple of *Trajan*. He re-edified the *Pantheon* at *Rome*, together with the *Septa*, the Temple of *Neptune*, a great many Religious Houſes, the *Forum* of *Auguſtus*, and the Bagnio of *Agrippa*: all which he Conſecrated anew, but ſtill under their Proper, and their

their Antient Names. He built a Bridge over the *Tiber*, which he called by his own name, together with a Sepulchre for himself near the *Tiber*. He transplated the Temple of the Goddess *Cybele* from the place where it was to another. He did the same to a *Colossus* which stood there, where now is the Temple of the City. This was a great and a laborious Task. It was removed in the Posture in which it was standing; being raised by the Architect *Decrianus*; four and twenty Elephants were Employed upon it. After he had Re-consecrated this vast Coloss to the Sun, which before was Consecrated to *Nero*, whose Head was to it, he proposed to build such another Monument to the honour of the Moon, by the Hand of the Architect *Apollodorus*.

He was most extremely Affable and Courteous in his Discourses which he had with persons of low degree; and he hated such as would Envy him a Pleasure, which was so insible to him, upon the pretence of maintaining the Gravity and Port of a Prince. *Alexandria*, in the Academy, he both proposed several Questions to be answered by the Professors, and answered others which they proposed to him. *Marius Maximus* says, that was in his own Nature Cruel; but yet that did many Pious and obliging things: the son whereof was his fear, that he might herwise have the same Fortune with that ich befel *Domitian*. Although he did not e Titles and Inscriptions upon his Works, however called several Cities, even *Car-*

thage it ſelf, and a part of *Athens*, together with a multitude of Aqueducts, after his own name. He was the firſt who Created the Officer called *Advocatus Fiſci*, that is, Advocate of the Exchequer. He had a happy Memory, and admirable Parts. He dictated all his own Speeches, and anſwered to every thing himſelf. There are ſeveral of his Jeſts; being a very pleaſant Man in Converſation. Amongſt the reſt, this is one: an old Man in Gray Hairs having asked him ſomething, which he denyed him, and coming to ask it again, but with his Hair tinged firſt unto a youthful colour; ſays he to him, *I have already denyed this thing to your Father.* He remembred Perſons by their Names ſo very well, without the help of a Prompter, that though he had heard them but once, he preſently corrected any one that miſtook them. He remembred even the Names of all the old Soldiers, whom he had disbanded. The Books which he read, though they were out of the common way, and difficult, he would repeat to you again almoſt entirely by heart. At one and the ſame time, he Writ, Dictated, hearken'd to Diſcourſe, and diſcourſed himſelf with his Miniſters. He retained in his mind all the Publick Affairs ſo well, that no diligent Maſter of a Family, better knows thoſe of his own Houſe. He loved his Horſes and Dogs to that degree, that he built them Tombs, and writ them Epitaphs. He built a Town, which he called *Adrianotheræ*, in a certain place, in *Mœſia*; only becauſe he had hunted with good

His Memory and Wit.

good Succeſs there; at what time he kill'd a Bear with his own hand.

He made an exact enquiry always into all things acted by the Preſidents of the Provinces, until he was ſatisfied in the Truth. He ſuffered not his Servants, whom he had Manumitted, to Influence him, nor to be thought to do ſo. He ſaid, that it was the eaſineſs of the Princes his Predeceſſours, which had been the occaſion always of the Vices of thoſe Men. Therefore if any of his pretended to have gained an Intereſt in him, he preſently puniſhed them. We have an inſtance of this Nature, in what he did particularly to one of them, whom he ſaw out of a Window walking in the midſt betwixt two Senatours. It is ſevere, and yet it comes ſomething near to a piece of Raillery. He ſent one to him, to give him a Box on the Ear, and to tell him; *That it was not for him to walk betwixt two Senatours, to whom he might ſtill be reduced to be a Slave.* Of all Diſhes of Meat, his fancy was eſpecially for an Oglio of Pheaſants, Brawn, *&c.* In his time a Famine, a Plague, and an Earthquake happen'd. For all which he expiated the Gods by Sacrifices as much as it was poſſible; and generouſly ſuccoured the People and the Cities, that were laid waſt by them: There was alſo an Inundation of the *Tiber*. He made ſeveral Cities free of *Rome*, and to others he remitted their Tribute. No great Expeditions happened under his Reign. His Wars paſſed over almoſt in ſilence. He was beloved by the Soldiers; becauſe he took

always a great Care of them, and was very bountiful to them. The *Parthians* were his ſtedfaſt Friends, becauſe he delivered them from the Yoke which *Trajan* had impoſed upon them. He permitted the *Armenians* to have a King of their own; whereas under *Trajan* they received a *Roman* Lieutenant. He did not exact of the *Meſopotamians* the Tribute which was impoſed upon them by *Trajan*. The Countries of *Albania* and *Iberia* were very affectionate to him: The Kings of the *Bactrians* ſent their Ambaſſadors to him, and humbly deſired his Friendſhip.

His Care of the Publick.

He oftentimes himſelf appointed the Perſons who ſhould be the Guardians to *minors*. He took Care of the publick Manners, no leſs than he did of the Diſcipline of the Army. He commanded the Senators and the *Roman* Gentlemen to appear always in Publick in Gowns. Accordingly himſelf, when in *Italy*, went always in a Gown. He received the Senators ſtanding, when they came to wait upon him at his Banquets. He ſettled, with the help of the Magiſtrates for that purpoſe, the Expences, beyond which no one ſhould exceed in their Feaſts; which he reformed according to the antient *Julian* Law. He forbad the Citizens to appear attended with ſo much heavy Equipages as they did, coming out of the Country. He ſuffered not the Baths to be opened before Two a Clock in the Afternoon, unleſs it was for the Sick. He was the firſt of the Emperors who took of the Knights and Gentlemen to ſerve him as his Secretaries.

Secretaries. He had a Compaſſion for ſuch amongſt them as were poor, and he knew were of an innocent Life; as much as on the other hand, he hated a Man who was grown Rich by Craft. He took great Care to obſerve the Holy Rites of the Religion of the *Romans:* But as for others which were of Foreign Inſtitution, he ſlighted them. He officiated in Perſon as High Prieſt. He many times had Cauſes tried before him at *Rome*, and in the Provinces; admitting the Conſuls, the Prætors, and ſome of the beſt Heads of the Senate to his aſſiſtance, as his Council. He cleanſed the Lake *Fucinus*. He appointed Four Proconſuls for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice throughout all *Italy*. At his coming into *Africa* it rained, which it not having done in that Country before in five Years; this was an occaſion that he was very dear to that People.

Going always in his Travels in all Parts, with his Head uncovered, and many times in the greateſt Showrs, and the greateſt Colds, at laſt he fell into a Sickneſs, which obliged him to take to his Bed; and being ſolicitous about the Perſon whom he ſhould make a Choice of for his Succeſſour, his firſt Thoughts carried him upon *Servianus*; but upon a further Conſideration, as hath been ſaid, he put him to Death, together with *Fuſcus*, whom he hated upon the account of certain Preſages and Prodigies which had happened, and which might give *Fuſcus* the Encouragement to dare to hope for the Empire. The like jealouſie *He ſickens*

which he was inclined to have of *Pletorius Nepos*, made him, that now he hated him, as much as before he had loved him. Thus he hated alſo *Terentius Gentianus*, and ſo much the more, as he knew, that he was beloved by the Senate. In ſhort, he had an averſion to every one, upon whom he look'd with an Eye of jealouſie, as if they aſpired to the Empire in his place. But ſtill he however ſtifled all the Motions of that Cruelty which was in his Heart, till ſuch time as he was brought almoſt to his laſt, of a Flux of Blood at *Tivoli*; and then he ordered *Servianus* directly to be put to Death, pretending he was one who had affected the Empire, having treated the Servants of the Court with Suppers, and ſat himſelf down in the Chair which is for the Emperor, and courted the Favour of the Soldiers. Several others at the ſame time by his Order, either publick or private were put to Death; which is the leſs to be admired, becauſe *Sabina*, his own Conſort, died ſuddenly after, not without a Suſpicion of her being Poyſoned by him. In the next place, he took up a Reſolution to adopt *Cejonius Commodus Verus*, the Son-in-Law of *Nigrinus* the Conſpirator before-mentioned; being a Youth whoſe Beauty had formerly recommended him to him. So he accordingly did it, and called him by the Name and Title of *Ælius Verus Cæſar*, how diſpleaſing ſoever this was to others. To honour whoſe Adoption, he gave the Games of the *Cirque* to the People, and beſtowed upon both the People and the Soldiers a Free Bounty. He made him a Prætor,

His Jealouſie.

He adopts Ælius Verus.

tor, and gave him immediately the Charge of the Province of *Pannonia*. He created him a Conſul, and furniſhed his Expences. He appointed him a ſecond time Conſul, till ſeeing him in ſo ill a Condition of Health, as not to be one likely long to live. *I have*, ſaid he, *depended upon a falling Wall, and the Four Thouſand* Seſterces *are loſt, which I ſpent upon the People and the Soldiers upon the Adoption of* Commodus. And indeed *Commodus* was ſo ill, he was not able ſo much as to go and return his Thanks to *Hadrian* in the Senate, for the Honour which he had done him. And having taken at laſt a Doſe which happened to be too ſtrong for him, his Illneſs redoubled, and he fell into a Sleep, in which he died, the firſt Day of *January*; which being a ſolemn Day for Congratulating the Emperor upon the New Year, and of making Oblations to the Gods, there was an Order from *Hadrian* to put off the Mourning on that Day for his Death. *Who dies.*

Ælius Verus Cæſar being dead, and *Hadrian* finding himſelf ſtill worſe, as to his own Indiſpoſition, he adopted next *Arrius Antoninus*, who was afterwards called *Antoninus the Pious*; that is, he adopted him upon this Condition, that *Antoninus* ſhould adopt two others, who were *Annius Verus*, and *Marcus Antoninus*: who as they were both afterwards Emperors, were the firſt Two that ſate upon the Throne together, and reigned in Conjunction with one another. The reaſon of giving to *Arrius Antoninus* the Title of the *Pious* was, becauſe he ſhew'd *He adopts* Antoninus

ſhew'd himſelf ſo careful of his Father-in-Law in his great Years, that he led him by the Hand, as he went to, or came from the Senate; or according to others, becauſe he was the Occaſion of the Preſervation of the Lives of ſeveral of the Senators, when *Hadrian* was in his Frenſie for killing them; or laſtly, becauſe he performed great Honours to the Memory of *Hadrian* after his Death. However it is, there were many who regretted the Adoption of *Antoninus*, and eſpecially *Catilius Severus*, the Governour of *Rome*; who was diligently paving himſelf a way to the Throne, which being diſcovered, he was deprived of his Place, and another Perſon put into it. *Hadrian* impatient under the laſt Pangs of Life, commanded a Servant to run him through with a Sword. *Antoninus* being made acquainted with this, went in to him, in Company with the Officers of the Court, and beſeeching him to take his great Sickneſs, as it was unavoidable, with more conſtancy, he was angry at them, and commanded that the Diſcoverer of what he had ſaid to the Servant ſhould be put to Death. But *Antoninus* ſaved him, and ſaid, *That he ſhould think himſelf a Parricide, if he ſhould ſuffer* Hadrian, *who had adopted him, to be murdered.* Then he made his laſt Will, not forgetting therein the Intereſt of the State. He endeavoured, after he had made his Will, to kill himſelf with his own Hand. But the Weapon was wreſted from him; and this made him perfectly furious. He commanded a Phyſician to give him Poyſon, who, it is ſaid,

His Impatience in his Sickneſs.

ſaid, choſe to kill himſelf upon the Place, rather than to Poyſon his Prince.

About this time, there came a certain Woman, who ſaid, *She had been admoniſhed in a Dream, that ſhe ſhould go and adviſe* Hadrian *not to kill himſelf, becauſe he would one day recover*; which ſhe not obſerving to do as ſhe was ordered, ſhe pretended ſhe had been ſtruck blind upon it. *However*, ſhe ſaid, *ſhe was commanded upon the ſame Errand again*, and told, *that when ſhe had done it, and had kiſſed the Feet of* Hadrian, *ſhe ſhould receive her ſight*; ſo ſhe did it, and ſhe received her Sight accordingly, after waſhing her Eyes in the Water of the Temple from whence ſhe came. There came out of *Pannonia* to *Hadrian*, whilſt he was in a Fever, a Man, who alſo pretended he had been long blind; who touching *Hadrian*, not only received his Sight, but alſo *Hadrian* was quitted of his Fever: that is, ſays Marius Maximus, *Theſe things were all a Fiction, of the Contrivance of* Antoninus, *to heal the wounded imagination of* Hadrian, *and divert him from murdering himſelf.* Then *Hadrian* went to *Baiæ*, leaving *Antoninus* at *Rome* to govern: but nothing at that Place doing him good, he ſent for *Antoninus* to him, and died in his preſence at *Baiæ* upon the Sixth Day of the *Ides* of *July*. A little before his Death, he ordered *Servianus*, who was Ninety Years old, as I ſaid, to be kill'd, only becauſe he ſhould not outlive him, and as he imagined, gain the Empire. Many others for pretended Offences he ordered likewiſe to be ſo ſerved; but *His Death*

Antoninus

Antoninus preſerved them. Dying, he ſpoke theſe Verſes;

Animula vagula, blandula,
Hoſpes comeſque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca?
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec ut ſoles dabis jocos.

That is,

My little fluttering flattering Soul,
My Body's conſtant Gueſt and Mate
To what gloomy Place doſt go?
Pale and numm'd, and ſtript of all,
No more to jeſt, as thou haſt wont.

He was the Author of ſome *Greek* Verſes of this ſort, which were not much better. He lived Seventy Two Years, Five Months, and Seventeen Days; and reigned Twenty One Years and Eleven Months. He was tall and well made as to his Perſon; his Hair naturally Curling; a long Beard, which covered ſome Spots which he had upon his Face, and of a robuſt Conſtitution. He rid and walked very well; exerciſed himſelf conſtantly at Arms, and the Javelin; often hunted, and hath kill'd a Lion with his own hand; his Friends hunted in Company with him. At his Banquets, he had the divertiſements of Tragedies, Comedies, Dancing, Muſicians, Rehearſers, and Poets. He built a Houſe at the City of *Tivoli*, which was an extraordinary Structure; and gave the Names of the *Lycæum*, *Academia*, *Prytanæum*,

His Perſonage.

Prytanæum, *Canopus*, *Pæcile*, and *Tempe*, which are the moſt Famous Names of Places abroad, together with others of the Provinces, unto the ſeveral Parts of it; and that he might leave nothing undone to adorn it, he repreſented in another Part in Painting, the Infernal Regions. The Signs which fore-ſhew'd his Death, were theſe: As he was in his Prayers on the laſt Anniverſary of his Birth, recommending *Antoninus*, his Son, to the Gods, the Lappet of his Robe which he threw over his Head, ſlipt down of it ſelf, and left him uncovered. A Ring which had his Effigies cut upon it, fell in like manner of it ſelf, off his Finger: The Day before that, there came one, I know not who, ſcrieking and crying into the Senate; none of the Senate underſtood what he ſaid; but yet *Hadrian* was moved at him, as if he had ſaid ſomething concerning his Death: Speaking to the Senate, inſtead of *poſt filii mei mortem*, after the Death of my Son, which he intended to ſay, he ſaid, *poſt mortem meam*, after my Death. He dreamt that he had asked, and had obtained of his Father a Potion to make him ſleep: Another time, that he was oppreſſed by a Lion. *His Death fore-ſhewed.*

After his Death a great many Perſons ſpoke very hard things againſt him. The Senate would have made void his Acts; neither had he been deifyed, but that *Antoninus* begged it; who not only did this, but built a Temple to him at *Pozzulo*, and inſtituted in his Honour Games to be celebrated every Five Years, and appointed him his Prieſts and Fraternities,

ternities, with all other things belonging to the Service of a God. Upon which account it was, as many think at least, and as I have already intimated, that the Title of the *Pious* was given to *Antoninus*.

THE LIFE OF *Ælius Verus Cæsar.*

BY

ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS:

TO THE

EMPEROR *DIOCLESIAN,*

ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS *his Slave wisheth Health.*

AS *it is my Design, Sir, humbly to lay at the Feet of your Majesty, who are the greatest of so many Princes, an Account, not only of those who have sate upon the* Roman *Throne before you, as I have already done in the Princes from* Julius Cæsar, *down unto* Hadrian, *but of those also who either have*

been

been honoured with the Title of Cæsars, *or upon any other Account have had the Reputation to be proposed for the Crown, although they did not afterwards succeed to it. I cannot omit here the Life especially of* Ælius Verus Cæsar, *who was incorporated into the Royal Family by the adoption of* Hadrian, *but enjoy'd the Name only of a* Cæsar, *and did not live to be Emperor. And because there is but little to be said of him, and the Preface ought not to be long in a such small Narration as this, I immediately proceed.*

Cejonius Commodus, or as he is otherwise called *Ælius Verus*, was adopted by *Hadrian*, when the Maladies of that Prince increasing upon him with his Age, pressed him to appoint his Successour, after his return from his many Travels about the World. His Life affords us nothing that is more memorable than this, to wit, His Quality as a *Cæsar*; given him not by a last Will and Testament, as formerly it had descended; nor yet was it given him in the manner, in which the Adoption of *Trajan* was by *Nerva*; but so as in our time, *Maximianus* and *Constantius* have been created *Cæsars* by your Majesty; that is, to signify they are as it were, *the Princes of the Blood*, and the appointed Heirs of the Empire. And because it may be fit that something here should be said concerning the Name of *Cæsar*; the Opinion of the most Learned about it, is, That he who was the first called so, was either called *Cæsar* from an Elephant, which in the Language of the *Moors* is called *Cæsa*, which he bravely slew

The signification of Cæsar.

in

in the Field; or because his Mother dying in her Labour with him, he was *Ventre Cæso natus*, cut out of her Belly; or because he was born *cum magna Cæsarie*, with much Hair upon his Head; or because *oculis Cæsiis viguerit*, he had Grey Eyes, which were bright and vigorous to a Miracle. However it is, it was certainly a happy Necessity that was the occasion of a Name so famous, which is like to be as Eternal as the World: The person, of whom we at present speak, receiv'd it in virtue of his Adoption by *Hadrian*. His Father was *Cejonius Commodus*, whom others call *Verus*, others *Lucius Aurelius*, others *Annius*. All his Ancestours were Persons of good Quality, whose Original for the most part was out of the Country of *Hetruria*, or the City *Faenza*. Of which Family we shall have an occasion to speak more fully hereafter, in the Life of *Lucius Aurelius Cejonius Commodus Verus Antoninus*, the Son of this *Verus*, whom *Antoninus* the *Pious* was commanded to Adopt. For in that Life will be contained every thing which concerns the Stem of this House, as it gives an account of a Prince who hath a great many more things to be said of him than this here. *His Ancestors. his Wife.*

So *Ælius Verus* being Adopted by *Hadrian*, in the time, as I have said, that he was very weak, and was necessarily to think of a Successour, and being presently made a Prætor upon it, and appointed to be the President of *Pannonia*, he was in the next place Created Consul: and in regard that he was the Person

deſign'd for the Empire, he was appointed to be Conſul a ſecond time. A Largeſs was given to the People upon the occaſion of his Adoption, and three thouſand *Seſtertiums* amongſt the Soldiers, and the Games of the Cirque Celebrated; ſo that nothing was omitted to be done in order to proclaim a publick Joy: and his Intereſt with *Hadrian* became in fine ſo great, that he alone obtained from him whatever he deſired, upon the leaſt Letter which he wrote to him. Nor was he wanting to the Province to which *Hadrian* preferred him. For although he might not ariſe to the fame of a Governour of the higheſt Form; yet he managed his Affairs ſo well, or rather ſo fortunately, that he was eſteemed to come up to the next ſtep to that Character: but on the other Hand he was ſo ſickly and ſo feeble, that *Hadrian* ſoon repented himſelf of his Adoption, and perhaps if he could, he would willingly have removed him again, if he had lived, out of the Royal Family, becauſe he was often placing his thoughts on others, whom he might admit to the ſame. Some, who have been very diligent to Collect the Life of *Hadrian*, pretend to ſay, that *Hadrian* underſtood very well the Nativity of *Verus*; and not ſo much approving him for a Perſon to make an Emperour of, he had Adopted him rather to ſerve his Pleaſures, and to ſatisfie a certain Paſſion which he had conceived for him: and what upon this occaſion was acted betwixt him and *Verus*, was kept ſecret under an Oath. Indeed that *Hadrian* was really

His Behaviour in his Province.

skilful

skilful in the Science of *Astrology*, is what is so fully attested by *Marius Maximus*, that he says, that he Calculated the future Passages of all the days of his own life, to the very hour in which he dyed.

It is besides certain enough, that *Hadrian* hath many times applied to *Verus*, out of *Virgil*, these words;

Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
Esse finent.———

The Fates will, he shall but to th' World be shown,
And from its earnest Grasp be hurried soon.

Walking one day in his Garden, he was pleased very much with repeating these words, and a learned Man being with him, in which sort of Conversation he delighted, because it was popular, who desired to add, as it is in *Virgil*,

— Nimium vobis Romana Propago
Visa potens, superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent;

To th' Gods the *Roman* Power would seem too great,
If their own Sway they could perpetuate.

Hadrian replyed, that that part of the Character did not consist with the Fate of *Verus*; and then he added himself, as follows,

——Manibus date lilia plenis,
Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
His saltem accumulem donis, & fungar inani
Munere——.

——Come, hither bring
Handfuls of Lilies, Flow'rs of purple hew
Upon his baleful Corps I'le freely ſtrew,
With theſe poor Gifts I'le pleaſe his fleeting Ghoſt,
Vainly beſtow'd, alas, on one for ever loſt.

Another time he expreſſed himſelf concerning him thus, and laughed, *I have Adopted my ſelf a God, and not a Son.* Nor was the Event different from the Horoſcope which he had drawn of it: For when *Ælius Verus* was returned from his Province, and had provided himſelf a very fine Oration, which is now Extant; whether it was of his own Compoſing, or that his Secretaries, or his Rhetoricians did it for him, in which, upon the Calends of *January* he was to have return'd his thanks to *Hadrian* for the honour which he had done him; he inſtead of that died upon that very day, and it was forbidden by *Hadrian* to obſerve the Mourning for him then, becauſe of the Vows and the Congratulations intervening, which are the peculiar buſineſs Dedicated to the firſt day of *January*.

His Death.

His Character.

He was one who paſſed his time in a courſe of Pleaſure, and had been inſtructed in Letters; but more acceptable unto *Hadrian*, at leaſt as ſome would have it, more for the ſake of his Beauty, than any thing elſe. He had not been long at the Court. His private life, as it was not admirable nor much to be commended for his Virtues; ſo neither was it much ſubject to be reproached. He was mindful of the Family

mily into which he was Adopted. Went always neat and proper in his Dreſs; had the Meen and Air of a Prince, an obliging Aſpect, a handſome way of expreſſing himſelf, ready at the making of a Verſe, and no unfit Perſon for the Service of the State. Thoſe who have written his life, have made mention of a great many Pleaſures which he delighted in; and which although they are not infamous, yet perhaps he was a little too much addicted to them. The Oglio of Pheaſants, Brawn, *&c.* which was *Hadrians* great Diſh, is ſaid to have been of the invention firſt of *Ælius Verus.* And another ſort of Pleaſure of his invention was this: he made himſelf a Bed with four Heads to it; that is to every Quarter of it a Head, with Curtains all about of fine Net-work: and ſtrewing it full of the Leaves of pick'd Roſes, there he lay enjoying his Concubines, and his Company, covered with a Sheet of Flowers, and perfumed with the Odours of *Perſia.* He had always the Books of *Ovid*'s *Amorum* upon the Bed with him, together with *Martial* the Epigrammatiſt, who he ſaid, was his *Virgil.* And not to omit his other, though more inconſiderable Actions; he gave his Lackeys and his Courtiers Wings to their Cloaths, like ſo many *Cupids*; and he called them by the names of the Winds. One he called *Boreas*, another *Notus*, another *Aquilo* or *Circius*, and ſo of the reſt: and he made them run perpetually, and unmercifully. He told his Wife, when ſhe

His Pleaſures.

complained, it is ſaid, to him, of the liberties which he took with other Women, *A Wife was a Name of Honour, but not of Pleaſure; you will give me leave, Madam, to have my Pleaſures therefore elſewhere.* His Son was *Antoninus Verus*; who was Adopted at the ſame time with *Marcus Antoninus*; which two, *Verus* and *Marcus*, Reigning in Conjunction afterwards with one another, are they who are called the *Duo Auguſti*, in the Calendars of the Conſuls: Some of which Calendars have taken the Conſulſhips of the *Duo Auguſti* for the *Æra*, from which they Commence their Accounts of the Conſuls.

At the time of his Adoption, *Hadrian* ſpent an Infinite deal of Money upon the Soldiers and the People. But when he ſaw him ſo ſickly, and ſo far gone in health, that he had not the force left to manage a Shield, *I have loſt*, ſays he, *the four thouſand Seſtertiums, which I ſpent upon the Soldiers and the People: I have lean'd my ſelf againſt a falling Wall, and upon a Man, who is ſo far from being able to ſupport the weight of the State, that he is no ſupport to my ſelf.* This it ſeems he ſpoke to an Officer of the Houſhold, who repeated it again, till it came to the Ears of *Ælius Verus*: who growing every day worſe and worſe with the concern to be ſenſible, that he was ſo deſpair'd of, *Hadrian* turned that Officer for diſcovering it, out of his place; and was willing to ſeem to mitigate, what he had ſaid; but this was all one. For in fine, as we have already

already said, *Lucius Cejonius Commodus Verus Ælius Cæsar*, for he was called by all these names, died; and was buried with all the Ceremonies observed at the Funerals of Princes; the only Royal honour, which he ever had, being those at his death. *Hadrian*, who regretted his death like a good Father, was a long time afterwards dubious upon what he should do: at last he Adopted *Antoninus* the *Pious*, as he was called; upon whom he imposed this condition, that *Antoninus* should likewise Adopt *Marcus* and *Verus*, and should Marry his Daughter, not to *Marcus*, but to *Verus*. And this was one of the last things he spoke to. He had been used to say; that a Prince ought to dye sound of mind. Then he grew worse, and the Complication of his Maladies carried him off.

Honour done him at his Funerals.

He had ordered large Statues to be set up in all parts to the honour of *Ælius Verus Cæsar*, in some Cities and Temples. Also he admitted his Son, whom he had obliged *Antoninus* to Adopt, into the Royal Family, as his own Grandson; often saying, Let the Empire have all that it can of *Ælius Verus*. *Verus* the Son brought no small Lustre to the Imperial Family, especially by his Clemency. This is what I have thought fit to observe concerning *Ælius Verus Cæsar*: whom I would not omit, because I have made it my resolution to write the History of all those, who since *Julius Cæsar*, the Emperour, have been either called Emperours, or *Cæsars*, or have been

Adopted into the Imperial Family, and Conſecrated the Sons or Kinſmen of Emperours, by the name of *Cæſars*. In which, though there is no neceſſity that obliges me to it, as ſome think, I ſhall ſatisfie, at leaſt, my own Inclinations, whatever I do as to others.

THE

THE

Life and Reign

OF THE

EMPEROR

ANTONINUS the PIOUS.

Dedicated to the

EMPEROR

DIOCLESIAN.

By JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

His Extraction.

Titus Aurelius Fulvius Bononius Antoninus, called the *Pious*, derived his Origin by his Father's ſide, from *Niſmes* in *Languedoc*. His Grandfather by his Father's ſide was *Titus Aurelius Fulvius*, who through ſeveral

veral other Honours, came to be twice a Conſul, and to be the Governour of the City of *Rome*. His Father was *Aurelius Fulvius*, who was alſo a Conſul, and a Perſon of great Virtue and Integrity. His Mother was *Arria Fadilla*. His Grandmother by his Mother's ſide, *Bojonia Procilla*. His Grandfather by the ſame ſide, *Arrius Antoninus* who was twice Conſul, and a holy virtuous Man; who inſtead of Congratulating, compaſſionated *Nerva*, to ſee him advanced to that difficult Station of a Prince. His Wife's Father was *Julius Lupus*, a Conſul. His Siſter, by the ſame Venter, was *Julia Fadilla*. His Wife was *Annia Fauſtina*: by whom he had two Sons and two Daughter. The eldeſt Daughter married *Zamia Syllanus*: the yonger to *Marcus Antoninus*. *Antoninus Pius* was born at a Seat near *Lavinia*, in the *Campagna di Roma*, upon the thirteenth of the Calends of *October*, in the Conſulſhips of *Domitian* and *Cornelius Dolabella*; which was then the twelfth time of the Conſulſhip of *Domitian*. He was brought up at another Seat, called *Laurium*, upon the *Aurelian* way: where he afterwards built a Palace, which hath ſome remains of it, ſtanding at this day. He paſſed his Infancy betwixt his two Grandfathers, ſometimes with the one, and ſometimes the other; and being very dutiful and obſervant to all his Relations, ſeveral of them left their Eſtates to him, which made him very Rich.

His Perſonage and Conditions.

He was handſome as to his Perſon, full of Wit, of a ſweet and courteous Behaviour, a generous

generous Countenance, Eaſie, Eloquent, and of a polite Literature. He was Sober, a great lover of the Country and Agriculture; Mild, Bountiful; not coveting other Men's Goods; Diſcreet, and all this without Vanity. He was every thing, which is commendable; and may be very juſtly compared with *Numa Pompilius*, according to the Opinion of moſt good Men. The Senate conferred upon him the Title of the *Pious*, either becauſe he was uſed to lead by the Hand, in their ſight, his decrepit Father-in-Law to and from the Senate; (tho' it would be rather, an impious thing not to diſcharge ſuch a Devoir, than it is an Argument of great Piety to do it;) or becauſe it was he, who had preſerved the lives of thoſe whom *Hadrian* in his Frenzy had commanded to be murdered; or becauſe he decreed ſuch infinite and unexpected Honours, to *Hadrian* his Father, after his death; or becauſe when *Hadrian* would have killed himſelf, he hindred him from it with all the care he could; or laſtly, becauſe he was in his Nature a moſt mild Perſon, and had done nothing that was diſobliging or Cruel in all his life. He lent out his Money at the ſmall Intereſt of four *per Cent.* to aſſiſt the Poor in their Occaſions, with that Fortune which he had. He was a generous Queſtor; ſplendid and noble when he was a Prætor, and Conſul in Conjunction with *Catilius Severus*. He lived for the moſt part in the Country, all the time he was a private man; but wherever he was, he was in great renown. So that when *Hadrian* committed

Why ſurnam'd the Pious.

mitted the Affairs of *Italy* unto the Adminiſtration of four Proconſuls, he made a choice of him to be one of them, to Govern in that part where he had the greateſt Eſtate: in which he equally conſulted the Honour and the Repoſe of this great Perſon.

Omens of his Succeſſion to the Empire.

He received an Omen of his future Succeſſion to the Empire, in the time of this his Adminiſtration. For amongſt the Acclamations which were made to him, as he ſat upon the Bench in the Court, ſome cried, *Auguſte, Dii te ſervent*; *The Gods ſave your Majeſty.* Next he was made the Proconſul of *Aſia*: where he behaved himſelf ſo well, that he alone out-did his Grandfather *Arrius Antoninus*; the Equity of whoſe Government no Perſon had ever ſurpaſſed before. In this Proconſulſhip he received another good Omen of his future Reign. The Prieſts, at the City of *Tralles* in *Lydia*, who according to Cuſtom ſaluted the Proconſuls upon their arrival there with an *Ave Proconſul*, did not ſay *Ave* Proconſul to *Antoninus*, but *Ave Imperator*, *Hail, O Emperour.* At the City *Cizique* upon the *Propontis*, a Crown which before ſtood upon the Head of an Image of a God, was tranſlated from thence, and found upon a Statue of *Antoninus.* His Statues throughout all the Country of *Hetruria* were covered with ſwarms of Bees. As he went to *Aſia*, he loſt his eldeſt Daughter. His Wife, they ſay, was one that contracted a great many Cenſures, by the too great Liberties which ſhe allow'd herſelf in her Life and Converſation; which

Anto-

Antoninus diſſembled as much as he could; but not without ſome trouble to ſupport her Credit. After his Proconſulſhip, he lived ordinarily at *Rome*: where he was of the Council to *Hadrian*; and in all things upon which *Hadrian* conſulted him, he made appear the ſweetneſs of his Sentiments; and gave his Verdict always on the moſt mild and merciful ſide.

His Adoption.

The occaſion of his Adoption was thus, When *Ælius Verus Cæſar* died, whom *Hadrian* had Adopted in order to ſucceed in the Empire, a day being appointed for the Senate to Aſſemble; *Antoninus* came amongſt the reſt, leading and ſupporting by the Hand his decrepit Father-in-Law; which was ſo agreeable a ſight, that *Hadrian*, ſome ſay, Adopted him for that very reaſon. But yet this could not be all: becauſe *Antoninus* was one, who challenged his conſideration upon other accounts. For he had always executed his part in the Govenment very well, and in his Proconſulſhip had approved himſelf a Perſon of great Fidelity and Ability. Therefore when *Hadrian* had declared to the World that it was his intention to Adopt him, he took a time to deliberate with himſelf, whether he ſhould conſent to it, or no. This Condition was impoſed upon him; that as *Hadrian* did Adopt him, ſo he ſhould Adopt *Marcus Antoninus*, who was his Wife's Brother's Son; and *Lucius Verus*, who was afterwards called *Verus Antoninus*, the Son of *Ælius Verus Cæſar* who had been the firſt Adopted by *Hadrian*. So *Antoninus* was Adopted upon the fifth of the Calends

Calends of *March*; and having thanked *Hadrian* in the Senate for the great honour which he had done him; he received the Proconſular and the Tribunitian Powers upon him, as a Colleague in the Empire with his Father. Then he preſented the Soldiers and the People with a Largeſs upon this occaſion; he gave them beſides, what his Father *Hadrian* promiſed them. He contributed a great deal towards the Works of *Hadrian*. The Tribute which upon the occaſion of his Adoption was preſented him by *Italy* and the Provinces, he remitted wholly to the firſt, and a Moiety of it to the latter: and he was moſt religiouſly Obſervant of *Hadrian* all the time that they afterwards lived together.

His Behaviour when Emperor.

When *Hadrian* died at *Baiæ*, *Antoninus* removed his Reliques with all due Reſpect and Ceremony to *Rome*: where he laid him in State in the Gardens of *Domitian*; and though contrary to the general Opinion, he cauſed him to be received as a God. The Senate gave to *Fauſtina*, who was the Conſort of *Antoninus*, the Title of *Auguſta*, which he permitted. To himſelf they gave the Title of *Pius*; he accepted it. He accepted very freely the Statues, which they likewiſe decreed to the honour of his deceaſed Father, Mother, Grandfathers, and Brothers. He accepted the Games of the *Cirque*, which were appointed to Celebrate his Birth-day. But other Honours which they offered him he refuſed. He hung up a moſt magnificent Shield to the honour of *Hadrian*, and appointed him his Prieſts. He removed

removed none of thoſe, out of their Places, after he was Emperour, who had been promoted by *Hadrian*. He continued the ſame Perſons Preſidents and Governours, ſeven or nine years together, if they deſerved it, he was ſo little given to change. He made many Wars by his Lieutenants. He overcame the *Britains* by *Lollius Urbicus*: who at the ſame time repulſed the Barbarians, and built another Wall, which was of Turf, in that Country, for a Partition betwixt the *Roman-Britains* and them. He forced the *Moors* to ſue to him for a Peace; he *Germans*, the *Daci*, and ſeveral other Nations. The *Jews* in their Rebellion were repreſſed by his Preſidents, and his Commanders. He repreſſed the rebellious in *Achaia* and *Ægypt*; and the *Alani* in their Attempts were conſtrained to contain themſelves within due Bounds.

He ordered that his Receivers ſhould proceed with all moderation in gathering the Tribute of the Provinces. If they exceeded their proper limits, he called them by his Authority to an account; becauſe he was never pleaſed with a Gain, by which the Subject was oppreſſed. He was always willing to hearken to the Complaints, which were made againſt his Officers and his Receivers. He moved the Senate for a full Indemnity for thoſe whom *Hadrian* had in his Frenzy condemned to die; becauſe he ſaid, Hadrian *himſelf, had he lived, would have done it*. He mixt the Grandeur and the Majeſty of an Emperour with all the Civility of a Gentleman; which the more added

ded to his Grandeur. His method as to Buſineſs, was, not to paſs it through the Hands of others, but to ſpeak to the Party himſelf: which diſabled the Courtiers from amuſing and cheating People out of their Money, at any time, with empty Pretences. He paid as great a reſpect to the Senate, when Emperour, as he could wiſh, when he was a Private Man, it ſhould receive from any other Prince. The Title of *Pater Patriæ*, or Father of his Country; which the Senate gave him, but which he had declined to accept in the beginning, he afterwards received with a great deal of thanks. In the third Year of his Reign he loſt his Conſort *Fauſtina*. The Senate Conſecrated her a Goddeſs. They appointed her a Temple and Prieſteſſes; Games in her honour, and Statues of Gold and Silver. And *Antoninus* ordered that her Effigies ſhould be carried in the Proceſſion always to the Games of the *Cirque*. He accepted the honour of having his own Statue ſet up in Gold, which the Senate had decreed him. He created *Marcus Antoninus* from a Quæſtor a Conſul, at the Prayer of the Senate. He created *Annius Verus*, who was afterwards called *Verus Antoninus*, a Quæſtor before the due time by the Law. He Enacted nothing, neither concerning the Provinces, nor any other Affairs without the advice of his Miniſters, and then he formed his Conſtitutions according to their Judgments. He permitted himſelf to be ſeen by his Friends, undreſſed; and ſometimes wore within his Houſe, Cloaths like any private Man. So

Honour done to

So great was his Diligence, and ſo entire his Application to Buſineſs, that he took a Care of all Perſons and all Things, as particularly as tho' they were his own. All the Provinces flouriſhed under him: He put down the Trade of Informers. Never fewer Eſtates were confiſcated: The only Perſon proſcribed, was *Attilius Tatianus*, who was convicted of a Deſign upon the Empire. For *Antoninus* forbad the Senate to enquire into his Accomplices, and continued his Kindneſs even to his Son, always in all things. It is true, *Priſcianus* died alſo, for having favoured him: But his Death was what he voluntarily committed upon himſelf; and he ſuffered no more ſearch to be made into that Conſpiracy. The Table of *Antoninus* was ſuch, as to be Rich without Extravagance, and Frugal without any unhandſomeneſs: His own Servants furniſhed it: His own Fowlers, Fiſhers, and Huntſmen. He expoſed the uſe of his own Bath to the People, *gratis*; and alter'd in nothing from the Cuſtoms of his private Life. He ſubtracted Penſions from ſuch as he ſaw did nothing for them to deſerve them; becauſe he ſaid, *It was moſt abſurd and cruel, to ſuffer that a State ſhould be pilled and gnawed by Perſons who contribute nothing to it by their Service, but live in Idleneſs.* He diminiſhed the Penſion of *Meſomedes*, the *Lyrick* Poet of *Crete*. He informed himſelf in the Accounts of all the Provinces and their Tribute perfectly well. He gave his Daughter his Paternal Eſtate, but yet ſo, as to hold

His Diligence and Moderation.

His Frugality.

it of the Crown. He ſold ſuch of the Furniture of the Palace, and all Superfluities, as had only ſerved for the Luxury of former Emperors; and lived by times, according to the Seaſon, at his own private Seats. He took no Journeys, but to go to his own Lands in *Campania*; becauſe he ſaid, *The Retinue of a Prince is always heavy upon the Country through which he paſſes, let him be as ſparing as he can.* Nevertheleſs, his Authority was great amongſt all Foreign Nations, whilſt he kept himſelf in repoſe at *Rome*, the Heart and Centre, as it were, of the Empire; where by his Expreſſes, he eaſily received the News of all Parts. He continued to give Largeſſes to the People, and the Soldiers. He made a charitable Eſtabliſhment for the Maintenance of certain young Children, whom he called by the Name of *Fauſtina's* Children, in the memory of his Conſort. His Works at this day extant at *Rome*, are theſe; a Temple to the Honour of *Hadrian*: The *Græcoſtadium*, after a Fire, he rebuilt: He repair'd the *Amphitheatre*, the Sepulchre of *Hadrian*, the Temple of *Agrippa*, and the Bridge elſewhere call'd *Pons Sublicius* over the *Tyber*: he repair'd the Light-Tower at the Port of *Gaieta* and the Harbour at *Terracina*; as alſo the Bagnio at *Oſtia*, the Aqueduct at *Antium*, and the Temples of *Lavinia*. He furniſhed ſeveral Cities with Money, either to make themſelves New Works, or to reſtore their Old. He gave to Magiſtrates and to the Senatours Money, to inable them the better to diſcharge the

His publick Works

their Functions with Honour. He refuſed the Inheritances which were left him, where there were Children to enjoy the ſame. He never turned a good Officer out of his Place, to put in another: *Orphitus* the Governour of the City deſired leave to lay his down: *Gavius Maximus* was Twenty Years together, the Captain of the Guards under him; a ſevere Man: Succeeded afterwards by *Tatius Maximus*. After whoſe Death he made Two Captains of the Guards, who were *Fabius Repentinus*, and *Cornelius Victorinus*: Some ſaid, That a Miſtreſs of *Antoninus* was the cauſe of the Preferment of the firſt. No Senatour was put to Death under this Prince. Nay, one who had confeſſed himſelf a Parricide, and by the Laws of Nature, deſerved not to live, was baniſhed into a Deſart Iſland, rather than to execute him. He relieved in a Famine, the want of Corn, Wine and Oyl, amongſt the People, at the Expence of his own Coffers; by buying thoſe Commodities up, and giving them to the People for nothing.

Calamities in his Reign.

The Prodigies, and the Calamities which happen'd in his time were theſe; the Famine we now mentioned; then the *Cirque* fell into ruin; an Earthquake deſtroyed the Towns of the Iſland of *Rhodes*, and others in *Aſia*, which were rebuilt to admiration; a Fire at *Rome* conſumed Three Hundred and Forty great Houſes, which he rebuilt; a Fire at the City *Narbon* in *Languedoc*; another at *Antioch*; another in the *Forum* at *Carthage*. There was alſo an Inundation

Prodigies. dation of the *Tyber*, and a Blazing-Star appeared. A Boy was born with Two Heads, and a Woman was delivered of Five Boys at a Birth. A Snake of a great Magnitude was ſeen in *Arabia*, which had devoured one half of its own Body from the Tail. A Peſtilence in *Arabia*. Four wild Lions in *Arabia* came tame to the hand, and ſuffered themſelves to be taken.

Reſpect of foreign Princes to him. *Pharaſmanes* the King of *Iberia* came to *Rome* to ſee *Antoninus*, and paid him a greater Reſpect than he had done to *Hadrian*. He conſtituted *Pacorus* King of the *Lazi*, a People near *Iberia*. He obliged the King of *Parthia* to withdraw his War againſt *Armenia*, by only his Letter. King *Abgarus* out of the *Eaſt* came to *Rome* to wait upon him, induced by only the Authority of his Name. He arbitrated Differences betwixt Kings and Kings. The King of *Parthia* deſired him to reſtore the Chair of State which had been carried away from that Kingdom by *Trajan*: But this he refuſed. He reſtored *Rimethalces* unto the Government of the *Boſphorani* upon the *Mæotis*, after a hearing of the Affair betwixt the Procurator there and him. He ſent Succours by the *Euxine* Sea to the People of *Olbiopolis* upon the *Nieper*, to aſſiſt them againſt the *Tartars*; and he reduced the *Tartars* to give Hoſtages to the *Olbiopolites* for the performance of the Conditions of Peace. No Emperor had ever that Authority, as he, amongſt Foreign Nations. He was always a Lover of Peace,

and

and often uſed that Sentence of *Scipio*, *That he had rather ſave one Subject, than kill a Thouſand of the Enemy.*

The Senate had decreed, that the Months of *September* and *October* ſhould thenceforth be called *Antoninus* and *Fauſtinus*, in Honour of him and his Conſort: But this Honour he refuſed. He celebrated the Eſpouſals of his Daughter *Fauſtina* with *Marcus Antoninus*, ſo Nobly, that he gave the Soldiers a great Bounty upon that occaſion. He created *Verus Antoninus*, after his Queſtorſhip, a Conſul. He ſent for *Apollonius* the Stoick, as far as from the City *Chalcis* in *Syria*, to educate *Marcus Antoninus*; and having invited him to the Court, in order to deliver his Scholar to him, and *Apollonius* making Anſwer, *That the Maſter was not to come to the Scholar, but the Scholar to the Maſter*; he ſmiled and ſaid, *As if it was eaſier for* Apollonius *to come from* Chalcis *to* Rome, *than to come from his Lodgings to the Court.* The Avarice of which Philoſopher, he remarked by his acceptation of the Recompences which were promiſed him. Amongſt other Arguments of the Piety of *Antoninus*, this is one; that as *Marcus Antoninus* was weeping for the Death of one who had been his Educator, and the Courtiers would have diverted him from it, as an unſuitable Oſtentation of the Kindneſs which he had for him, he ſaid to them, *Give him leave to be, as he is, a Man; for neither Philoſophy nor an Empire takes our Natural Affections from us.* The Officers of the Provinces in his time, received

His Candour.

from him, not only great Preſents, but ſuch as had not been Conſuls, he honoured with the Marks of thoſe that had. But if he found them guilty of Extortion and Bribery, tho' he reſtored the Fortunes of Fathers unto the Children, yet he did it under this Condition; that the Children ſhould reſtore to the Provinces all that their Fathers had unjuſtly ſtoln from thence. He had all the Inclinations imaginable to Acts of Grace and Pardon. In the publick Shews which he gave the People, he produced Elephants, Rhinocerots, Crocodiles, Sea-Horſes, Tygers, and all ſorts of Beaſts from all Parts of the World. He hath expoſed a Hundred Lions together at one Shew.

His behaviour towards his Friends in his Reign, was juſt the ſame as before, when he was a private Perſon; and neither they, nor his Servants, whom he manumitted, pretended to make any Gain to themſelves of their Intereſt in him; particularly, he was very ſtrict with the Latter. He was much delighted with the Diverſions of the Comedians, and in Fiſhing, Hunting, Walking, and Talking with his Miniſters, to whoſe Entertainments he went; and ſometimes to the Feaſts of the Vintage. He gave Honours and Recompences in Money, in the Provinces, to the Rhetoricians and the Philoſophers. The Speeches which are extant under his Name, are ſaid by many to have been of the Compoſition of another: but *Marius Maximus* ſays they are truly his own.

His Recreations.

own. He made Entertainments for his Friends in particular, and in publick. He never Sacrificed by a Proxy, unleſs he was Sick. When he deſired any Honour for himſelf or his Sons, he did all things as a private Candidate in the ſame Caſe. He dined with his Miniſters many times at their Houſes. He went one time to ſee the Houſe of *Omulus*; where admiring the Porphyry-Pillars which he had, and asking him from whence he procured them, *Omulus* ſaid, *When you come, Sir, into a Strangers Houſe, you are to be both Dumb and Deaf.* He took this patiently, as he did a great many other Jeſts of the ſame Perſon.

He made divers Laws, in which he ſerved himſelf of the beſt Lawyers of his time, who were *Vinidius Verus*, *Salvius Valens*, *Voluſius Metianus*, *Ulpius Marcellus*, and *Jabolenus*. He put an end to whatever Seditions in any Part aroſe; not by Force and Cruelty, but by the Modeſty and the Gravity of his Judgments. He prohibited the burying of the Dead within the City. He limited the Expences of the Games of the Gladiators. He facilitated things for the convenience of Travelling with all the Care he could. He gave Reaſons for every thing he did, either to the Senate or in his Edicts. He died in his Seventieth Year, but was as much lamented, then, as if it had been in the flower of his Age: And the manner of his Death, they ſay, was this; he had eaten with great Appetite at Supper, of the Cheeſe which is made upon the *Alps*, but he brought it up

His Laws.

His Death.

again in the Night, and the next Day was taken with a Fever; the third Day being worſe, he recommended the Empire, and the Care of his Daughter unto *Marcus Antoninus*, in the preſence of the Court. Then he ordered the Golden Image of *Fortune*, which always ſtands in the Emperor's Bed-Chamber, to be removed out of his Room into that of *Marcus Antoninus*. Then he gave the word to the Tribune, which was *Equanimity*; and turning himſelf as it were to ſleep, he died at his own Seat at *Laurium*. He was light-headed in his Fever; at which times, all his Diſcourſe was concerning the State, and the Kings who had given him an occaſion of Diſpleaſure. He left his Paternal Eſtate to his Daughter, and Legacies by his Will to all his Domeſticks.

His Perſonage.

He was tall and graceful; but being apt to ſtoop a little in his old Age, he then wore a pair of Bodice on purpoſe to keep himſelf ſtrait. In a morning, when he grew in years, before he was viſited, he eat a little dry Bread for his Health. He ſpoke a little broad, but yet agreeably enough. The Senate made him a God, in which all People were forward to concur with them, becauſe his Goodneſs, Clemency, Wit, and Sanctimony were univerſally eſteemed. They decreed him all the Honours which had ever been beſtowed upon the beſt Princes. They appointed him an Order of Prieſts of his own Name, a Temple, and the Honour of the Games of the *Cirque*. He was abſolutely

abſolutely the only one of all the Emperors who lived without having ever ſhed the Blood either of Citizen or Enemy; and as his Reign was attended with the ſame Felicity and Goodneſs, the ſame Security and Religiouſneſs, with that of *Numa Pompilius*, he may very well be put in the Compariſon with that Prince. He reigned Twenty Three Years.

THE

A. Christi CLXII.

THE Life and Reign OF THE EMPEROR *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, The PHILOSOPHER.

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS:

Addreſſed to the

EMPEROR *DIOCLESIAN.*

His Extraction.

MARCUS *Antoninus* was a Lover of Wiſdom, a Philoſophical Man all his time, and the beſt, as to the Sanctity of his Life, of all the Emperors before him: His Father was *Annius Verus*, who died in his Prætorſhip: His Grandfather was another *Annius Verus*,

Verus, who was twice Conſul, and the Governour of the City of *Rome*; having been admitted amongſt the *Patricians* by *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, when they were Cenſours. His Uncle by his Father's ſide was *Annius Libo*, a Conſul; the Empreſs *Galeria Fauſtina* was his Aunt: his Mother was *Domitia Calvilla*, the Daughter of *Calviſius Tullus*, who was twice Conſul: his Father's Grandfather was *Annius Verus*, originally of *Succubæ* in *Spain*, who was a Prætor and a Senator: his Mother's Grandfather was *Catilius Severus*, who was twice Conſul, and Governour of *Rome*: his Grandmother by his Father's ſide was *Rupilia Fauſtina* the Daughter of *Rupilius Bonus*, who was a Conſul alſo.

Marcus Antoninus was born at *Rome*, upon Mount *Cælius*, in the Gardens there, the Sixth of the Calends of *May*, under the Conſulſhips of his Grandfather and *Augur*, which was then the Second Conſulſhip of his Grandfather. His Family, if we carry it up to the higheſt, is proved to partake of the Blood of *Numa Pompilius* by his Father's ſide, according to *Marius Maximus*; and by his Mother's, to come from *Malennius*, a King of the antient *Salentini* in *Naples*, who was the Son of *Daſumnus*, who built *Lopiæ*. He was brought up where he was born, and partly in the Houſe of his Grandfather *Verus*, hard by the *Lateran* Palace. He had a Siſter who was younger than he, called *Annia Corniſicia*. His Wife was *Annia Fauſtina*, who was his Couſin-German by his Mother's ſide. At firſt his Name was

Annius

Annius Verus, from his Father and his Grandfather. *Hadrian* called him *Annius Veriſſimus*, becauſe of the Integrity of his Temper. But afterwards he re-aſſumed his firſt Name again of *Annius Verus*, becauſe his Grandfather (his Father dying) adopted him, and educated him.

His Education.

He was from his firſt Infancy grave and ſerious; and after he was out of thoſe Years in which Children are in the hands of the Women, he was delivered to the Tuition of great Maſters, who prepared his way for Philoſophy. His Maſters to teach him his firſt Elements of Letters, were *Euphorion* the Grammarian, *Geminus* a Comedian, and *Andron*, who was both a Muſician and a Geometrician. As theſe Three were they, who laid the Foundation for him to proceed to all other Learning, ſo he ever had them in very great Reſpect. His Maſters to teach him Grammar were, for the Greek, *Alexander*; for the Latin, *Troſius Aper*, *Pollio*, and *Eutychius Proculus* of *Sicca* in *Africa*. His Maſters to teach him Rhetorick, were for the Greek, *Annius Marcus*, *Caninius Celer*, and *Herodes Atticus*; for the Latin, *Fronto Cornelius*; amongſt all which, he had a particular Reſpect for *Fronto*, and deſired the Senate to ſet up his Statue; and *Proculus* he advanced to be a Proconſul. He applied himſelf extremely to the Study of Philoſophy, whilſt he was but yet a Youth. In his Twelfth Year he entred himſelf amongſt the Philoſophers, wore their Habit, practiſed their Severities, ſtudied as they did, lay upon the Ground, and was with great

And Proficiency.

Difficulty

Difficulty perſuaded by his Mother to make uſe of an ordinary Couch. *Commodus*, whoſe Daughter it was deſigned that he ſhould marry, was another of his Maſters; and alſo *Apollonius* a *Stoick* Philoſopher of *Chalcis* in *Syria*.

Such was his great Love to the Study of Philoſophy, that after his adoption into the Imperial Family, he went himſelf to the Houſe of *Apollonius* to learn there of him. He likewiſe went to hear the Dictates of *Sextus* a Philoſopher of *Chæronea* in *Beotia*, and the Kinſman of *Plutarch*, as alſo *Junius Ruſticus*, *Claudius Maximus*, and *Cinſia Catullus*, all *Stoicks*. For the Peripatetick Philoſophy he heard *Claudius Severus*. Amongſt theſe, he had particularly a Reſpect for *Junius Ruſticus*, and followed him; being one who was not only excellent at the *Stoick* Philoſophy, but a very underſtanding Perſon beſides, whether in Peace or War. With him he communicated all his publick and private Counſels: He ſaluted him always before he did the Captain of the Guards: He made him twice Conſul, and after his Death, deſired the Senate to ſet up his Statue. He had that great Honour for his other Maſters, that he ſet up their Images in Gold in his Cloſet, and viſited their Sepulchres, which he adorned with Crowns, and Victims, and Flowers. To all this, he ſtudied the Law, in which he heard the Dictates of *Lucius Voluſius Metianus*. In fine, the Labour and the Travel which he beſtowed in Study, really affected his Health; his exceſs in it, was the only Fault of his Youth.

His Reſpect for his Preceptors.

Youth. He went often to the Declamations at the Publick Schools. His fellow Students, whom he more particularly loved, were *Sejus Fuſcianus*, and *Auſidius Victorinus*, of the Senatorian Families: and *Bæbius Longus*, and *Calenus*, of the Gentlemen: to whom he was very generous, and ſuch as he could not for the condition of their lives prefer to Employments, he inriched by other means.

He was Educated in ſome ſort in the boſome of *Hadrian*, who called him, as I have ſaid, *Annius Veriſſimus*, and at ſix years of Age conferred a mark of Honour upon him, and at eight years of Age, put him into the College of the Prieſts of *Mars*: in which he paſſed through the ſeveral Functions and Offices of that Order, not without receiving an Omen there of his ſucceſſion to the Empire. He put on the *Roman*, that is, the Man's Gown in his fifteenth year; and preſently the Daughter of *Lucius Cejonius Commodus* was Contracted to him, according to the laſt Will of *Hadrian*. He was left the Governour of *Rome*, in the interim whilſt the Conſuls went to the Sacrifices of the *Latinæ Feriæ* upon Mount *Alban*. In which honour he acquitted himſelf to the general Approbation. He releaſed all his Paternal Eſtate to his Siſter. His Mother would have adviſed him to divide it only; but he ſaid, he was contented with the Eſtate of his Grandfather; and if ſhe pleaſed, ſhe alſo might give his Siſter her Eſtate to make her the better match for her Husband. He had ſo much complaiſance for others, that

He is Contracted.

that he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, ſometimes againſt his will, to go either to the Chaſes of the Amphitheatre, or the Plays of the Stage, or other Shews. He learnt Painting, in which his Maſter was *Diognetus*. He loved the Games of Fencing, Wreſtling, Running, Fowling and Hunting, for Exerciſe. He played at the Ball. But above all theſe things the ſtudy of Philoſophy gained his Heart; and rendred him perfectly grave and ſerious. Not but that yet he was in all reſpects obliging and courteous to every one; eſpecially his Friends, and ſuch as were but in the leaſt known to him. So that he was Reſerved without Opiniatrety, Modeſt without Flatneſs, and Grave without Auſtereneſs. *His Exerciſes and Character.*

This being his Character, when *Hadrian*, after the death of *Ælius Verus Cæſar* was to chuſe ſome other Perſon to be his Succeſſour in the Empire, which this Youth was not Proper for as yet, upon the account of his Age, being then only eighteen years old; he Adopted *Antoninus* the *Pious*, who was Uncle to him, under a condition that *Pius* ſhould Adopt *Marcus*, and that *Marcus* ſhould Adopt *Lucius Commodus Verus*. *Marcus* received the News of his Adoption, more with a Conſternation, than Joy; and when he was ordered to be removed into a Houſe of *Hadrian*'s, it was with an unwilling mind, that he took his leave of that of his Mother. Inſomuch that his Servants asking him, why he came ſo ſad into the Royal Family, he reaſoned with them upon the Evils which are contained in the *His Adoption.*

the life of a Prince. Then he began firſt to be called, inſtead of *Annius*, *Marcus Aurelius*; becauſe by the Right of his Adoption he was Tranſlated into the *Aurelian* Family, that is, into that of *Antoninus Pius*. This was in the eighteenth year of his Age, under the Second Conſulſhip of *Antoninus* his (now) Father: and the Senate diſpenſing with him, as to that Age, at the requeſt of *Hadrian* he was made a Quæſtor. He paid to all his Relations, after he was Adopted, the ſame Reſpects altogether, as before. He obſerved his Studies as much, and was as good a Husband of his Expences: and he reſigned himſelf wholly both to act, ſpeak, and think, according to the inſtructions of his Father.

When *Hadrian* dyed at *Baiæ*, and *Pius* was alſo gone thither to remove his Body to *Rome*; *Marcus Antoninus* was left at *Rome* to order the Funeral Obſequies of his Grandfather; and being then Quæſtor, he exhibited to the People the Games of the Gladiatours. Now *Hadrian* had ordered, when he Adopted *Antoninus Pius*, that *Pius* ſhould Marry his Daughter to *Verus* the Son of *Ælius Verus Cæſar*, and that the Daughter of *Lucius Cejonius Commodus* ſhould Marry *Marcus Antoninus*. But *Verus* was not as yet of an Age for that Daughter. Therefore when *Hadrian* was dead, it was thought fit by *Pius* and his Empreſs, to break off the Match of *Marcus Antoninus* with the Daughter of *Commodus*, and to Marry their own Daughter *Fauſtina* to him; to which *Marcus* conſented. Hereupon *Pius* advanced him, from a Quæ-

a Quæſtor, to be Conſul in Conjunction with himſelf, and gave him the Title of *Cæſar*. He made him one of the ſix *Seviri*; and honoured him with his preſence at his Publick Games. He appointed his Apartments in the Court, and ordered him to be there attended (contrary to his own Inclination) with all Pomp and Ceremony. He paſſed him thro' the Colleges of the Prieſts, according to the deſire of the Senate. He made him a ſecond time Conſul with himſelf; when himſelf entred upon his fourth Conſulſhip. But at the ſame time that *Marcus* was poſſeſſed of theſe high Honours, and aſſiſted at all things which his Father did in order to be formed to the Government of the Empire, he went paſſionately nevertheleſs to his Studies. He married *Fauſtina*, by whom he had a Daughter. Then the Tribunitian, and the Proconſular Powers were given him, and the right of a fifth Reference: ſo that his Intereſt became ſo great, that his Father never eaſily Promoted any one without him. He was always the moſt dutiful to his Father, that it was poſſible for any one to be; howſoever ſome were willing to whiſper *Pius* in the Ear with things againſt him; particularly *Valerius Omulus*; who one day taking notice of *Calvilla* the Mother of *Marcus*, as ſhe was at her Devotions in a Garden before an Image of *Apollo*, ſays he to *Pius*, *That Lady there is now Praying for your death, and for the Reign of her Son.* But this was altogether of no weight with him: becauſe he ſaw the great Probity of *Marcus*, and with

His Wife and Relations.

what Modeſty he carried himſelf under the Honour of his Aſcenſion to the degree of a Prince.

He was ſo careful to weigh all things well, to preſerve his Reputation, that in his youthful years he always ordered his Servants to do nothing that was hard upon any body; and ſometimes when Eſtates were left to him, he refuſed them, if he could, to give them to the next of the Family. He lived three and twenty years together in the Court with his Father, and yet he was every day beloved more and more; and in all that time he was not abſent from him above two nights. Wherefore when *Antoninus Pius* came to dye, he called his Miniſters and his Friends about him, and recommended to them all, *Marcus*, as his Succeſſour in the Empire. He gave the Tribune the Word, which was *Æquanimity*, and immediately he ordered the Golden Image of *Fortune*, which ſtood in his Bedchamber, to be tranſlated into the Bed-chamber of *Marcus*.

He is created Emperor, and Verus *his Partner.*

After the death of *Pius*, the Senate conſtraining *Marcus* to take the Publick Government upon him, he nominated *Verus* to be his Partner in the ſame; declaring him *Cæſar* and Emperor; from which time they equally began to Reign together, and were the firſt two Emperours, who ſate at once upon the Throne of *Rome*. He called himſelf by the name of *Marcus Antoninus*; and he called his Brother-Emperour by the name of *Verus Antoninus*; to whom he Contracted his Daughter *Lucilla*. For an Act of goodneſs upon the occaſion of this

this Conjunction, they inlarged the Charity of their Predeceſſors, for the Maintenance of the Children of poor Families, and added other Penſions to them. From the Senate, after having finiſhed their Affairs there, they both went together to the Camp of the Guards: where they promiſed the Soldiers a Bounty of twenty thouſand Seſterces, and to the Officers proportionably, as uſual, upon the occaſion of their joynt Reigns. They made a magnificent Funeral for their Father, whom they interred in the Sepulchre of *Hadrian*. They proceeded to Conſecrate him a God. Each made an Oration in Publick in his Praiſe; and having appointed him his Order of Prieſts out of the number of his Friends, they diſtinguiſhed them, by calling them after the name of his Family.

Poſſeſſed thus of the Empire, they both comported themſelves ſo well, that none could complain of the loſs of the gentle Reign of *Pius*. *Marullus*, the Satyrical Poet of that time, had ſome ſtings at them, but he paſſed unpuniſhed. They concluded the Funeral Obſequies of their Father, with the Games of the Gladiatours. In the mean time *Marcus* gave himſelf ſtill to Philoſophy, and courted the love of the People. But the felicity and the quiet of their Reigns was interrupted, firſt by an Inundation of the *Tyber*, which was very terrible. It not only carried away ſeveral Buildings of the City, and deſtroyed a great many Cattle, but it produced a moſt grievous Famine: which Calamities were moderated

Their good Government.

Several Wars begun.

as much as poſſible by the Care and the Preſence of *Marcus* and *Verus*. Then the *Parthian* War aroſe; which *Vologeſus*, the King of that Country, had been hatching under *Pius*, but he did not Proclaim it till the Reign of *Marcus* and *Verus*; at what time he attack'd *Atidius Cornelianus*, the Lieutenant of *Syria*, and put him to flight. Alſo a War with the *Britains* was upon the point of kindling, and the *Catti* had already made Incurſions into *Germany* and *Rhætia*. So againſt the *Britains* *Calphurnius Agricola* was ſent. Againſt the *Catti*, *Auſidius Victorinus*. But to the *Parthian* War the Emperour *Verus* was appointed to go, with the advice of the Senate; whilſt *Marcus* tarried at *Rome*, where the Civil Affairs required the preſence at leaſt of one Emperour. He accompanied *Verus* as far as to *Capua*, and honoured him with a Retinue of Great Men out of the Senate, and Officers for his Court of all ſorts, to be both his Miniſters and his Companions with him in the Expedition. But no ſooner was *Marcus* returned to *Rome*, but he received advice, that *Verus* was ſick at *Canoſa* in *Naples*. He offered his Vows in the Senate for his Recovery, and then went in all haſte to ſee him there: and being return'd to *Rome* the ſecond time, he next received an account, that *Verus* was ſafely arrived in *Syria*; where he paſſed his time in Sports and Hunting, and lived at *Antioch* and the Village of *Daphne* in the greateſt pleaſure, whilſt his Generals carried on the *Parthian* War; in which they had the Victory of the Enemy. In the

the mean time *Marcus* was continually attent upon the Affairs of the State; and ſeemed to take the Pleaſures of his Brother, as if he was indifferent to them, or knew nothing of them. He ordered and managed all things neceſſary for the War, and yet lived the diſtance of *Rome* from it.

The Affairs of *Armenia* were proſperous, and the City *Teſtis* upon the *Araxis* was taken by *Statius Priſcus*. Hereupon both the Emperours were preſented with the Title of Conquerours of the *Armenians*, which *Marcus* in modeſty firſt at refuſed, but afterwards accepted. They were both in like manner, after the War was over, preſented with the Title of Conquerours of the *Parthians*; and this alſo *Marcus* at firſt refuſed, but afterwards accepted. The Title of *Pater Patriæ*, or Father of his Country, which had been offered to *Marcus* in the abſence of *Verus*, he deferred to meddle with, till the return of *Verus*: becauſe he would not aſſume it, but in Conjunction with him. In the mean time having Contracted his Daughter *Lucilla* in Marriage to him, he preſented her richly, and ſent her into *Syria*, in the midſt of the War, attended by his Siſter, and *Civica*, the Uncle of *Verus*. He went with her himſelf, as far as to *Brundiſi* in *Naples*, and had intended to ſee her over the Water, if the Diſcourſes of ſome, as if he had deſired to Challenge to himſelf the glory of finiſhing the War, and upon that account was for going into *Syria*, had not called him back to *Rome*. He writ to the Pro-

Their Succeſs.

conſul to take care, that ſhe was not interrupted by any in her Journey.

Publick Conſtitutions.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, *Marcus Antoninus* made a Law, which is an extraordinary ſecurity to People, in caſes concerning their Freedom; he was the firſt that contrived it, and it is thus; he ordered every *Roman* Citizen, who had a Child born, to enter the name of the Child before the Treaſurers of the *Exchequer*, within thirty days. In the Provinces he erected Publick Notaries, before whom the ſame thing ſhould be done upon the Births there, as before the Treaſurers of the *Exchequer* at *Rome*: ſo that when any Perſon born in any Province hath a Cauſe in Hand concerning his Freedom, he hath no more to do, than to bring from that Province a Teſtificate of his Birth; this corroborated the whole Law concerning Freedoms. He made other Laws concerning Bankers and Auctions.

Great Deference to the Senate.

In divers Cauſes, in which himſelf eſpecially was concerned, he made the Senate the Judge. He ordered, that Actions, having reference to the Freedom or Servitude of Perſons Defunct, ſhould be brought within five years from their deaths, or be excluded for ever. No Prince ever deferred more to the Senate than he. He delegated to ſeveral of them, of the degree of Prætors and Conſuls, the deciſion of many Affairs; only that their command ſo far in the Law ſhould be a means to poſſeſs them with the greater Honour. He admitted ſeveral of his Relations into the Senate, whom he had made

Ædiles

Ædiles or *Prætors*: He granted to ſeveral Senatours, that were poor, provided that it was without reproach, the Offices of Tribunes and Ædiles. He made no one a Senatour, unleſs he had a very good knowledge of him. In this alſo he ſhew'd his reſpect to them, that whenever a Senatour underwent a Tryal for his life, he heard him firſt in private, before he tryed him in publick; and he ſuffered none of the Order of the Knights and Gentlemen to aſſiſt in ſuch a Caſe. He went conſtantly, as much as poſſible, to the Senate, though he had nothing to propoſe to them, if he was at *Rome*: but when he had any thing to propoſe to them, he came in Perſon to do it, if it were out of *Campagnia*. He often aſſiſted in the Courts of Judicature, till it was night; and never withdrew out of the Senate till the Conſul himſelf diſmiſt it. He made the Senate the Judge in caſes of Appeals from the Conſuls. He ſhew'd himſelf very diligent upon all Judiciary matters. He marked out the Law-days in the Kalendar, when Buſineſs was to be done, and Cauſes tryed. In the whole year, they were to the number of two hundred and thirty. He firſt gave the Prætors a power to appoint Guardians to Minors, who before were appointed by the Authority of the Conſuls; which he did, to expedite the Actions in that caſe.

He regulated the exceſs of the Publick Expences in Feaſts and Games. He interpoſed againſt the Trade of Informers; and when he found them falſe, he branded them. He con-

temned the Accuſations, which were ſuggeſted to him to enrich his *Exchequer*. He contrived many things very Prudently relating to the Publick Stores. He made Senatours the Curatours to ſeveral Cities; to extend ſo much the more, the glory of their Order. He relieved the Cities of *Italy* in a time of great Famine, with Corn ſent from *Rome*. He looked after every thing, that concerned the Magazines of Corn. He moderated the Games of the Gladiatours, all manner of ways. He diminiſh'd the Gratuities, given to, or exacted by the Comedians. He took a great care of the Streets of the City, and the Highways. He appointed Officers over the Provinces of *Italy*, for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, in the Nature of the Proconſuls, which had been before appointed by *Hadrian*. He repeopled *Spain*, which was exhauſted by continual Levyes, with Colonies from *Italy*. In which contravening the Ordinances of *Trajan*, he expreſſed himſelf with great modeſty and reſpect to the memory of that Prince. He added other Laws concerning the Tax called *Viceſſima*, the Tutelage of Servants, Maternal Eſtates, and the ſucceſſion of the Children unto them. He ordered, that ſuch Senatours, who were Foreigners, ſhould however buy themſelves a fourth of their Eſtates in *Italy*. He gave power to the Curatours of the Towns and the Highways either to puniſh, or to remit to the Governour of *Rome* to be puniſhed, ſuch as exacted more from any Perſons, than what they were juſtly taxed to. As to the reſt,

reſt, he rather reſtored the old Laws, than created new ones. He had Lawyers always with him, by whoſe Opinion, and according to whoſe Forms he gave Sentence in Law, and publiſhed his Ordinances. Particularly *Scævola*, was one excellent Lawyer that he much uſed.

Moderation of Antoninus.

The People lived under him, altogether as in a Free-City. He was extremely well diſpoſed in all things, to deter Perſons from evil, and to invite them to good. He rewarded plentifully, and pardoned graciouſly: he made them of ill, good Men; and of good Men, he made them extraordinary good. He took a Raillery upon theſe occaſions very patiently. One *Veteraſinus*, who was of an ill Fame, begging an honourable Employment of him, he adviſed him to clear himſelf firſt from the Cenſures of the People. *Veteraſinus* anſwering, he ſaw ſome that were made Prætors, that he had fought Prizes with upon the Publick Stage; the Emperor took it, and ſaid nothing. He was not forward to puniſh. If any Prætor had behaved himſelf in ſome things ill, yet he did not turn him out of his Prætorſhip, but ordered him to remit his Buſineſs intirely into the Hands of his Colleague. He never in his Judgments favoured the *Exchequer* in a Matter of Gain, when it hath been upon himſelf to give Sentence. He was firm to himſelf, and his purpoſe; and yet his Reſolution was ſet off with Modeſty, eſpecially where he was even obliged to give repulſe. After his Brother was returned a Conquerour

querour from *Syria*, the Title of *Pater Patriæ* was given to them both. For *Marcus* had in his absence comported himself to all the Senatours, and all People, well. An Oaken, or which is otherwise called a Civick Crown, was equally presented to them both; and *Verus* desired that *Marcus* should Triumph with him. He desired that the Sons of *Marcus* should be also called *Cæsars*. But such was the great moderation of *Marcus*, that though he joyned in the Triumph, in Company with him, he relinquished to him intirely (when *Verus* was dead) the Title of the Conquerour of the *Parthians*; and stiled himself only the Conquerour of the *Germans*; which was a Title he had from a War of his own. So they carried the Children of *Marcus* of either Sex, in the Triumph with them; even his Virgin-Daughters; and they beheld the Games which were Celebrated upon the occasion, with their triumphal Habits upon them. Amongst other remarkable things of the Pity of *Marcus*, it is not fit to forget this; that he ordered Feather-beds to be spread under the Rope-dancers, after an accidental fall of a Boy from the Rope: which is the reason that we have a Custom of hanging a Net under them at this day.

War with the Marcomanni. Whilst the *Parthian* War was yet on Foot, another War kindled with the *Marcomanni* in *Germany*: which was suspended a good while by the Art of the Officers upon the Frontiers, that it should not trouble us till the *Oriental* War was over. It was five years from the beginning

ning of that War, to the return of *Verus*. At whoſe return, *Marcus* declared to the Senate, that as he had ſometime before given them Intimations of a War in *Germany*, ſo it was neceſſary that now both the Emperours in Perſon ſhould repair to it. Now the terrour of this *Marcomannick* War was ſo great, that *Marcus* was obliged to ſend for Prieſts from all parts, to diſpatch the vaſt number of Sacrifices, which were vowed and offered upon this occaſion. He Celebrated all the Sacred Foreign Rites that were ever ſeen at *Rome*; and purged the City of *Rome* all manner of ways; and Celebrated the Feaſts of *Lectiſternia* ſeven days together. A Peſtilence at the ſame time prevailed, which was ſo great, that the dead were carried off in Carts and Wagons. This obliged the two Princes to make ſtrict Laws concerning Burials and Sepulchres: in which they provided, that it ſhould not be at the Liberty of Perſons to build their Sepulchres in what place they pleaſed; which is ſtill in force at this day. Many thouſands dyed of this Peſtilence; ſeveral of the Nobility: whereof the moſt conſiderable had their Statues ſet up by *Marcus Antoninus*. Who in his great Clemency took that care of the Common People, that he ordered them to be buried upon his own Expence. The *Marcomanni* and their Confederates being now actually in Arms, and putting all things into Confuſion, the two Emperours, arrayed in their Military Apparel, ſet forward together upon the Expedition. Their March had no ſmall effect with it, as ſoon

A great Plague.

ſoon as they came, but as far as to *Aquileia*. For the Kings of the Enemy for the moſt part not only retreated with their Men, but put to death the Authors of their Inſurrection. The *Quadi*, whoſe King was dead, ſaid that they would not confirm the Perſon his Succeſſour, who had been Created in his place, till our Emperours approved him: others ſent Ambaſſadours to them to ask their Pardon for their diſobedience: ſo that *Verus* his Opinion, who had ſet out much againſt his will in the beginning, was for returning back to *Rome*: eſpecially having loſt the Captain of the Guards, *Furius Victorinus*, and a part of the Army. But *Marcus* believing that the Barbarians diſſembled, and that both their Retreat, and the other things which they did, were only out of a fear of being oppreſſed with the weight of ſo great a Force, he declared himſelf to be for purſuing the War. Therefore they marched on, and croſſed the *Alpes*, having ſettled all things in order, for the ſafety of *Italy* and *Illyricum*. However *Verus* was urgent for going back to *Rome*: to which *Marcus* at laſt conſented, and that the Senate ſhould have notice given them of it by Letter. But as they were afterwards upon the Road in the Coach together, *Verus* was ſuddenly taken with an Apoplexy and died.

Death of Verus.

Marcus was ſo little affected for his part with thoſe Pleaſures, which were the real Reaſon of *Verus* his deſire to return to *Rome*, that he both Read, and hearkned to any one's Buſineſs, and ſigned Orders whilſt he hath been

been at the ſhews of the *Cirque*; which made the People, they ſay, ſometimes paſs their Railleries upon him. *Geminas* and *Agaclytus*, two manumitted Servants of *Verus*, had a great Influence over their Maſter. But yet *Marcus* diſſembled, and even excuſed the Faults of *Verus*, tho' they diſpleaſed him never ſo much. He deified him after his Death. He provided honourably for his Aunts and his Sifters. He appointed a great many Sacrifices to his Honour. He appointed his Prieſts, and gave him all the other Reſpects which are paid to the Gods. But as there is no Prince but is ſubject to the moſt outragious Cenſure; *Marcus* was for all this repreſented, as if he had either poyſoned *Verus* by a Knife invenom'd on one ſide, with which he cut a piece of a Sacrifice, and gave *Verus* the invenomed part to eat, whilſt he reſerved the ſound to himſelf, or at leaſt, that he killed him by his Phyſician *Poſidippus*, by letting him Blood unſeaſonably.

After the Death of *Verus*, *Avidius Caſſius* revolted from *Marcus*. Tho' *Marcus* was ſo indulging to *Verus* his Relations, and all that belonged to him, that he did them all the Honours that it was poſſible. *Commodus* his Son, as wicked and profligate as he was, received from him the Title of *Cæſar*, the Dignity of the Prieſthood, the Title of Emperor, a ſhare in the Triumph with him, and the Conſulſhip. At the ſame time the Father attended the Triumphal Chariot of the Son on Foot, in the Cirque. Now when *Marcus* reigned alone after the Death of *Verus*, he was much more eaſie,

Commodus *declared* Cæſar.

eaſie, and more abundant in good Actions than he could be before, becauſe he was hindered with the Errours of his Brother. He was one for his own Part, of that Tranquillity of Mind, that he never changed his Countenance either with Sorrow or Joy; following exactly the Precepts of the *Stoick* Philoſophy, which he had learnt from all the beſt Maſters, and which he had diligently collected from all Parts. *Hadrian* would have made him his immediate Succeſſour, had not his Minority then hindred it. Nevertheleſs, he choſe him for one, whom he obliged *Pius* to adopt; that as he was deſerving of the *Roman* Empire, it ſhould ſooner or later certainly come to him.

End of the Marcomannic *War.*

So he treated the Provinces with a great deal of Moderation and Goodneſs, and managed his Affairs happily againſt the *Germans*. He went through with the *Marcomannick* War, than which a greater hath not been known in any Age, with a Bravery equally extraordinary as the Succeſs; and this at a time when a grievous Peſtilence ſwept away many Thouſands of the People and the Army. The *Marcomanni*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Vandals*, the *Quadi*, being extinguiſhed by him, he delivered the Country of *Pannonia* out of its Servitude; for which he triumphed at *Rome*, and his Son *Commodus* with him, whom he had created *Cæſar*. He had exhauſted all his Coffers upon this War; and becauſe he could not perſuade himſelf to command any thing from the Provinces to over-charge them, he made

made an Auction in the *Forum* of *Trajan* of the Goods of his Houſhold. He ſold the Veſſels of Gold, Cryſtal and Myrrh, the Royal Services, Rich Garments of his Wife's which were embroidered with Gold, and ſeveral Jewels which were laid up in the Cabinet of *Hadrian*. The Sale continued Two Months, and ſuch a conſiderable Sum was produced by it, that having proſecuted the Reliques of the *Marcomannick* War with it, according to his deſire, he gave the Buyers the Liberty to return if they pleaſed their Purchaſes, and take their Money again. But whether they did or no, he was ſatisfied, and allowed Gentlemen to have their Tables as ſplendid as himſelf. In the publick Shews which he gave the People at his Triumph, he was ſo Magnificent, that he expoſed a Hundred Lions together, to be ſhot to death with Arrows.

Having therefore Reigned to the general Love of all the People, who called him by the endearing Terms of, ſometimes their Brother, ſometimes Father, ſometimes Son, as every one's Age was, he died in the Eighteenth Year of his Empire, and the Sixty Firſt of his Age. The Love of him amongſt all the People appear'd on the Day of his interment. Becauſe none thought him then an Object to be lamented, but aſſured themſelves, that as he had been formed and lent them by the Gods, ſo he was returned to the Gods. Before his Funeral was well finiſhed, a thing which never was known to be done before, nor ſince, the Senate and the People in one Body upon the

Death of Antoninus

place,

place, pronounced him a Propitious Deity. This great Man, who was ſo Excellent himſelf, and ſo ally'd to the Gods, both in his Life and Death, left a Son, *Commodus*, who was ſo ill on the other hand, that it had been happy he had never had him. Nay, it was a ſmall thing, that Perſons of all Ages, Sexes, Conditions and Dignities, honoured *Marcus* as a God; for he was judged Sacrilegious, whoever had not his Image in his Houſe, if his fortune permitted him. To this day in many Families, the Statues of *Marcus Antoninus* ſtand amongſt the Houſhold Deities; and ſome Perſons have firmly and publickly averred, that he hath predicted many future and true things to them in Dreams. A Temple was erected to him, and an Order of Prieſts of his own Name appointed him, with all other things which to conſecrated Perſons have ever been aſcribed by Antiquity.

Story of the Birth of Commodus.

Some ſay, and it is not unlikely, that *Commodus Antoninus* his Succeſſor and his Son, was a ſort of an Adulterous Birth, the Story whereof is repreſented commonly thus. *Fauſtina* the Wife of *Marcus*, and formerly the Daughter of *Antoninus Pius*, ſeeing one Day the Gladiators enter the Amphitheatre, fell in love with one of them to that degree, that ſhe laboured under a long Sickneſs upon it, till at laſt ſhe confeſſed the Cauſe to her Husband. *Marcus* adviſed with the Magicians, whoſe Counſel it was, to put to Death that Gladiator, and that *Fauſtina* ſhould waſh her Secrets with his Blood, and then lie with her Huſband:

band: This was done, and her Love cured. But *Commodus* was born after it, more a Gladiator than a Prince; becauſe when he was Emperor, he fought almoſt a Thouſand Combats with the Gladiators, in the publick view of the People, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſay in his Life. And that which makes this Story the more credible, is, this Son of ſo Holy a Father, was a Man of thoſe profligate Manners, that no common Sword-player, Actor, Baiter of Beaſts, nor in fine, no one, tho' of the ſink of all Shame and Wickedneſs, was like him. Others ſay, that he was abſolutely a Baſtard; and that *Fauſtina*, when ſhe was at the Port of *Gajetta*, choſe herſelf there by the Eye, the Seamen generally working naked, what Men ſhe ſaw were the beſt provided, both out of the Sea-men and the Gladiators; wherefore *Marcus Antoninus* was adviſed by one, if he would not puniſh her by Death, to divorce her. To which he anſwered, *If I divorce my Wife, I muſt return her her Dower.* But her Dower was the Empire which he had received from her Father, who had adopted him at the deſire of *Hadrian*. Certainly the Virtue, the Integrity, the Tranquillity, the Piety of a good Prince, is a thing of that prevalence, that the ill Character, not ſo much as of the neareſt Relation, can defame him. And ſo it was with *Marcus Antoninus*, who perſevering ſtill in his own virtuous way, and not changing in any thing upon the whiſpers or calumnies of the People, neither his Gladiator-Son was a prejudice to him, nor his impure Conſort.

He is (as he hath ever been) eſteemed a God to this Day; and particularly by you, O moſt Sacred Emperor *Diocleſian*, who have a Veneration for him, even above the reſt of your Gods, and are pleaſed often to ſay, *That you chiefly wiſh yourſelf like him in his Life, and the Clemency which he always exerciſed; tho' ſhould* Plato *return into the World again, he could not parallel him with all his Philoſophy.* The things that paſſed under *Marcus Antoninus*, after the Death of *Verus*, were theſe: Firſt, the Body of *Verus* was brought to *Rome*, and interred in the Sepulchre of his Anceſtors, and *Verus* made a God. Then *Marcus* thanked the Senate for having Conſecrated his Brother, but intimated at the ſame time, *As if the Counſels by which the* Parthians *were overcome, had been much owing to himſelf; and that now, he would govern as it were upon a new and better Foundation.* The Senate took it in the Senſe which *Marcus* meant, and ſeemed to congratulate, that *Verus* was departed this Life. However, *Marcus* provided very honourably for *Verus*'s Siſters, Relations and Servants. Indeed he was very Curious of his Reputation, and enquired always what every one ſaid of him, and corrected himſelf accordingly in ſuch things as they ſeemed to blame him for, with reaſon. Going to the War in *Germany*, he re-married his Daughter to *Claudius Pompeianus*, the Eldeſt Son of a *Roman* Knight, of a Family of the City of *Antioch*, but not of the higheſt Nobility. He afterwards made him Twice Conſul, in conſideration that his Daughter was

ſo

ſo much his Superior; which Match however, did neither pleaſe her nor her Mother.

Tumults, &c. quelled.

The *Moors* laying waſte almoſt all *Spain*, he employed his Lieutenants againſt them, who reduced them: In *Egypt*, the Robbers about the Parts called *Bucolia*, committing divers great Diſorders, they were alſo reduced by *Avidius Caſſius*, who afterwards ſet himſelf up for the Empire. About this time *Marcus Antoninus*, whilſt he was at his Retreat at *Paleſtrina*, loſt his Son called *Verus Cæſar*, of the Age of Seven Years, by lancing a Tumour which he had under his Ear. The Mourning for whom was kept but Five Days, and then he applied himſelf again to the publick Buſineſs. It was the time of the Celebration of the Games of *Jupiter*, which he would not ſuffer to be interrupted by a more ſolemn Mourning; ſo he only ordered Statues to be ſet up to the Memory of the deceaſed, and his Image in Gold to be carried in Pomp in the *Cirque*, and his Name to be inſerted into the Hymn of the Prieſts of *Mars*. In the time of the Peſtilence beforementioned, *Marcus* was eſpecially diligent to reſtore the Worſhip of the Gods. Againſt the *Marcomannick* War, he made Soldiers of Slaves and Gladiators. Others he had who were called Voluntiers. He liſted the Robbers of *Dalmatia* and *Dardania*. He ſerved himſelf of ſome Troops out of *Phrygia*, and fought Auxiliaries of the *Germans* againſt the *Germans*. He uſed all manner of Diligence to compleat his Legions for this War; and becauſe he would not exact

Money upon the Provinces, he made an Auction, as I ſaid, of the precious Moveables of his Houſhold in the *Forum* of *Trajan*; in which, beſides Cloaths and Plate, he ſold the Images and the Pictures which were of the Hands of the Great Maſters. At length, he defeated the *Marcomanni* at the Paſſage of the *Danube*, and reſtored their Spoils to the Provinces.

The Confederate Nations.

All the Nations from the Borders of *Illyricum* as far as to *Gallia*, had confederated againſt us. The *Marcomanni*, the *Nariſci*, the *Hermunduri*, the *Quadi*, the *Suevi*, the *Sarmatæ*, the *Latringes*, and the *Burſi*. To theſe were joyned, the *Victovali*, the *Soſivèi*, the *Sicobotes*, the *Roxolani*, the *Baſtarnæ*, the *Alani*, the *Peucini*, the *Coſtoborei*, and others. His other Wars were the *Parthian* War, and the *Britannick* War. Now it was with great Pains and Labour, that he overcame as he did, Nations ſo ſtubborn as all theſe. The Soldiers followed his Example; the Lieutenant-Generals, and the Captains of the Guards marched in Perſon at the Head of thier Men; ſo he obliged the *Marcomanni* to ſurrender themſelves, and a great many of them were tranſplanted into *Italy*. But before he went upon any thing of Importance, not only in War, but in the Civil Affairs, he adviſed always with his great Officers. It was always his ſaying, *It is more fitting that he ſhould follow the Counſel of ſo many faithful Friends, as they were, than that they all ſhould follow him who was but one.* A great many of the Nobility were kill'd in that *German* or *Marcomannick*, or rather, that War of a multitude

titude of Nations, whoſe Statues he ſet up in the *Forum* of *Trajan*. Therefore his Friends intreated him often to retire from the Danger and come to *Rome*: But he perſiſted in his own Reſolutions, and did not withdraw till all was finiſhed. He changed the Proconſular Provinces into Conſular, and the Conſular into Proconſular, or Prætorian, according as the occaſions of the War required. He compoſed by his Severity, and the rigour of his Diſcipline, the Troubles that were ariſen in *Burgundy* and in *Portugal*. He ſent for his Son *Commodus* to the Frontiers of *Germany*, where he put upon him the Man's Gown; upon which occaſion he gave a Largeſs to the People, and next he made him a Conſul, although it was before his proper time.

Commodus *puts on the Gown.*

When any Perſon was at any time proſcribed by the Governour of *Rome*, he did not at all take the News well. He was always very reſerved how he gave away publick Money; which is rather to his Praiſe than to his Reproach. And yet he was always diſpoſed to give Money to good Men, towards the Relief of Towns which were fallen into decay; and where he ſaw a Neceſſity for it, he remitted the Tribute and the Taxes. In his abſence he ordered that the publick Divertiſements of *Rome* ſhould be taken care of by ſuch as were the richeſt to publiſh them. This obviated a Diſcourſe which was amongſt the People, when he had carried away the Gladiators to the War, as if he deſigned to put down thoſe

Sports, and to force all the World to Philoſophy. He commanded that the Stage-Players, Tumblers, and thoſe ſort of Men ſhould not begin their Shews upon the Market-days, till later than ordinary, becauſe they ſhould not hinder the Market. Some talk'd of ſome of thoſe ſort of Men, being beloved by his Wife; but he purged himſelf of all that by his Letters. He forbad the going in the Town on Horſeback, or in Coaches. He took away the promiſcuous Bagnios, wherein Men and Women waſhed together. He moderated the Luxury of the Women, and of the young Nobility. He reſcued the Sacrifices of the God *Serapis* from that Rabble, and thoſe Diſturbances which annoy them at the City of *Belvais* in *Egypt*. It was ſaid, that ſome, under the pretence of being Philoſophers, had that Intereſt in him, that they were a prejudice to the publick, no leſs than private Perſons. But of this he purged himſelf, and ſhew'd that it was in no wiſe true.

Some of his Conſtitutions.

He generally inflicted upon all Crimes a leſſer Puniſhment, than what it was the Cuſtom to do by the Laws; and yet ſometimes againſt notorious and high Offenders he continued inexorable. He took the Cognizance himſelf of the Capital Cauſes of Perſons of the better Quality, and managed them with all imaginable Equity. He would reprimand a Prætor that gave Judgment upon too ſhort a hearing, and order him to try the Cauſe over again; ſaying, *It is for the Honour of him who judges for the People, to hearken to the Reaſons*

ſons of the accuſed to the laſt. He obſerved to do Juſtice impartially as to Priſoners taken in War, and he ſettled infinite Numbers of the Barbarians in the *Roman* Territories. When the Enemy had by a Stratagem ſo ſhut up his Army that they could come to no Water, he extorted from Heaven by his Prayers a Storm of Rain which relieved them, when they were ready to periſh with Thirſt. He had deſigned to erect *Marcomannia* into a Province, and likewiſe *Sarmatia*; and he had done it, if *Avidius Caſſius* had not rebelled againſt him in the *Eaſt*, who ſet himſelf up as Emperor, by an Intrigue, ſome ſay of *Fauſtina*, when ſhe began to deſpair of the long Life of her Husband. Others ſay, it was pretended that *Marcus* was dead, and that *Caſſius* did not ſet up himſelf till after *Marcus* was declared a God. But however it was, *Marcus* was not very much moved at the Defection; neither did he Revenge himſelf upon the Wife, or Family, or Friends of *Caſſius*: But *Caſſius* was adjudged an Enemy by the Senate, and his Eſtate was confiſcated into the publick Treaſury.

Avidius Caſſius *rebels.*

Then leaving the War againſt the *Sarmatæ* and the *Marcomanni*, he marched againſt *Caſſius*. In the mean time, ſome at *Rome* were in a fear, that *Caſſius* in his abſence would have come thither. But *Caſſius* was preſently kill'd, and his Head brought to the Emperor, who without rejoycing at his Death ordered the Head to be buried. A Son of *Caſſius*, called *Mæcianus*, to whom he had committed *Alex-*

Who is kill'd.

andria, met with the ſame Fate; and the Captain of the Guards that *Caſſius* had made, was alſo killed by the Army. He forbad the Senate to take Vengeance upon the Accomplices of the Defection; deſiring, if poſſible, at the ſame time, that no Senator might be put to Death in his Reign, becauſe it ſhould not be polluted with Blood. He ordered ſuch Perſons as were baniſhed, to be recall'd. Some few Centurions loſt their Heads. He pardoned the Cities which had complied with *Caſſius*. He pardoned the *Antiochians*, who had ſaid ſeveral things againſt himſelf, and in Favour of *Caſſius*; from whom, however, he took away their Shews, their publick Conventions, and all ſorts of Aſſemblies, by a ſtrict Edict; becauſe they were a ſeditious People, as he intimates in his Speech in *Marius Maximus*, which he made to his Miniſters upon the Subject of this Defection. He deſigned not to ſee *Antioch*, when he went into *Syria*, nor the City *Cyr*, or *Carin*, of which *Caſſius* was.

But however, afterwards he went to *Antioch*. He was at *Alexandria*, and was very obliging to that City. He tranſacted many things with the Kings of thoſe Parts, who met him, together with the Ambaſſadors of the *Perſians*, and he eſtabliſhed a Peace with them. He made himſelf dear to all the Oriental Provinces, and left the Prints of his Philoſophy amongſt them, by his weighty Diſcourſe. He acted the Citizen and the Philoſopher in *Egypt*, in all the Academies, Temples, and publick Places where he came. Though the *Alexandrians*

drians had ſaid ſeveral things to the Advantage of *Caſſius*, he pardoned them, and left a Daughter of *Caſſius* with them. After this he loſt his Conſort *Fauſtina*, at a Village called *Halala*, at the Foot of the Mountain *Taurus*, where ſhe died ſuddenly. He deſired the Senate to make her a Goddeſs, and give her a Temple; praiſing her, though ſhe had laboured under ſuch a Cenſure of Unchaſtity, which either he knew nothing of, or at leaſt he diſſembled it. Some Alms-Children for whom he made a Proviſion, he called by her Name, in her Honour. She had accompanied him into the Field in the Summer, and therefore had the Title of the Mother of the Camp. He made the Village a Colony where ſhe died, and erected her a Temple there; which was afterwards re-dedicated to *Heliogabalus*. At the ſame time that he marched againſt *Caſſius*, he gave no Commands for the killing him, out of his Clemency. *Heliodorus* his Son was baniſhed. Others, who baniſhed themſelves, were allowed a part of their Eſtates. And for the reſt of the Children of *Caſſius*, they enjoyed above a half of their Father's Fortune. His Daughter *Alexandra*, and *Drunciānus* her Husband, had their free Liberty of going any whither. And certainly *Marcus Antoninus* was ſorry for the Death of *Caſſius*; becauſe, he ſaid, *He deſired to have paſſed his Reign, without ſhedding the leaſt drop of the Blood of the Senators.*

Death of Fauſtina.

After

After he had ſettled the Affairs of the *Eaſt*, he came to *Athens*; where amongſt other things, he viſited the Temple of the Goddeſs *Ceres*, to ſhew his Innocency, becauſe this was ſolemnly forbidden to wicked Perſons; and he was admitted into the *Sacreſty* all alone. In his return by Sea into *Italy*, he was overtaken with a great Storm. At his Landing at *Brindiſi* in *Naples*, he both put on the *Roman* Gown himſelf, and commanded the Soldiers to habit themſelves accordingly, who never went in their Soldiers Coats in *Italy* in his Reign. Being come to *Rome*, he triumphed there, and from thence he went to *Lavinia*. He made his Son *Commodus* his Colleague in the Tribunitian Power. He entertain'd the People with a Largeſs, and extraordinary fine Shews. He reformed many things in the Civil Policy, and ſet proper Bounds to the Expences of the Games of the Gladiators; having this Sentence of *Plato* much in his Mouth, *Happy the States where either the Philoſophers are the Emperors, or the Emperors are Philoſophers.* He match'd a Daughter of *Bruttius Præſens*, who was of the Conſular Dignity, to his Son *Commodus*: But the Eſpouſals were celebrated with no more than ordinary Magnificence; on which occaſion he gave a Largeſs to the People. Then he re-aſſum'd the Old War with the *Marcomanni* again. For he had made War with thoſe, and with the *Hermunduri*, the *Sarmatæ*, and the *Quadi*, three Years before together; and now if he had lived but one Year longer, he had reduced them into Provinces. But he died as he was making his prepara-

Eſpouſals of Commodus.

preparations for that Conqueſt. Two days before he died, his Officers being admitted into his Chamber, he gave them to underſtand that he had as ill an Opinion of his Son *Commodus*, as *Philip* of *Macedon* had a good Opinion of his Son *Alexander*; ſaying, as *Philip* did, he was not ſorry to dye, ſince he left behind him ſuch a Son; but meaning that the *Roman Empire would ſcarce be large enough to hold the Vices of him*; who made it appear already, departing from the Rules of Life, which his Father had preſcribed him, that he was Cruel, and Infamous. His death was thus: when he began to be ſick, he called his Son to him, and adviſed him firſt of all not to *ſlight the Reliques of the War, for fear that he ſhould ſeem to betray the Empire.* To which *Commodus* anſwering, that he ſhould be obliged for his own ſafety to be gone from the Army, becauſe of the Peſtilence which raged: he told him again, *He might do as he would; but he deſired him rather to tarry, at leaſt a few days, becauſe he would do well to appear to hold it a little againſt the Barbarians*: After this, he would neither eat nor drink, becauſe he deſired to dye, and this increaſed his Diſtemper. The ſixth day he called in his Friends, and diſcourſing to them about the Vanity of Humane things, and the Contempt of death, he ſaid, *Why are you ſorry for me, when you ought rather to think of the Peſtilence which rages, and of the common death of every one? As they retired from him,* he ſighed and ſaid, *If you ſee me no more, I bid you farewel; I go before you.* They asked him

The Death of Antoninus.

him to whom he recommended his Son. He ſaid; *To all you, if he deſerves it, and to the Gods Immortal.* The Army upon the notice of his ſickneſs was very much troubled; for they loved him dearly. The ſeventh Day he was worſe, and ſaw none but his Son: whom he preſently diſmiſſed again, for fear he ſhould be infected. His Son being gone, he threw the Cloaths over his Head, as if he went to ſleep; and died that night. Some ſay, that when he ſaw that *Commodus* would prove ſuch a Man, as afterwards he did, he rather wiſhed him dead, than that he ſhould make another *Nero*, *Caligula*, or *Domitian*, by his Reign.

Licentiouſneſs of Fauſtina.

One thing *Marcus Antoninus* is blamed for, which is, That he promoted to ſeveral Honors *Tertullus*, *Utilius*, *Orphitus*, and *Moderatus*, who were his Wife's great Lovers. He had ſurprized *Tertullus* one day actually at Dinner with her. The Buffoon upon the Stage gave him a Rub as to this Man, in his own Preſence. "What, ſays he to him that was with "him, is the name of that Man, that you ſay "Gallants my Wife; the other anſwered, *Tul-*"*lus*, *Tullus*, *Tullus*. He asked him the ſame "Queſtion again: ſays the other, I have told "you. By which the Audience plainly ſaw, that he meant, that his crying three times *Tullus*, ſignified *Tertullus*. So every body talk'd very much of this Spark, and blamed the Patience of *Antoninus*. Sometime before his death, and before he went the ſecond time to the *Marcomannick* War, he took his Oath

Oath in the Capitol, that not one ſingle Senatour by his knowledge, had been put to death. And he ſaid, *He ſhould have ſaved the lives even of the Rebels with* Caſſius, *if it had been left to him.* He was ſo far from ſeeking to enrich himſelf with the Eſtate of Proſcribed Perſons, that he abhorred and ſhun'd nothing more than the ſcandal of Covetouſneſs: againſt which he purges himſelf in ſeveral Letters. Some pretend to ſay that he was a Diſſembler and not really of that Sincerity as he ſeemed to be, or as either *Pius* or *Verus* was of. And again they ſay, that he too much raiſed the Pride of the Court, by eſtranging his Friends from his Company and his Banquets. He ordered a Deification for his Parents, and honoured the Friends of his Relations with Statues, though they were Perſons that were dead. He did not eaſily believe things upon Truſt; but gave himſelf always time enough to find out the truth. After the death of *Fauſtina*, *Fabia* the Siſter of *Verus* was Ambitious to Marry him. But he rather choſe to content himſelf with a Concubine, of a Daughter of a Servant to his late Wife, than over ſo many Children, which he had, to ſuperinduce a Step-mother.

I

THE

A. Chriſti CLXII.

THE Life and Reign OF THE EMPEROR VERUS ANTONINUS.

By JULIUS CAPITOLINUS,

Addreſſed to the

EMPEROR *DIOCLESIAN.*

I Know very well, that ſeveral Perſons who have written the Hiſtory of the Actions of *Marcus* and *Verus*, have done it in ſuch a method, as to give the Reader an account of *Verus* in the firſt place; following the order not of their Reigns, but their Deaths.

But

But I have thought it my Duty to give the precedence, as to this, to *Marcus*, and to treat of *Verus* afterwards; becauſe *Marcus* was the firſt of the two upon the Throne; and becauſe his ſurvival after the death of *Verus* made but a continuation ſtill of the ſame Reign.

Lucius Cejonius Ælius Commodus Verus Antoninus, who by his Adoption into the *Ælian* Family by the Will of *Hadrian*, was called *Ælius*, and by his Alliance with *Marcus Antoninus*, received the name of *Verus Antoninus*, was a Prince, whom we do not reckon in the number of the Beſt, nor yet on the contrary in the number of the Worſt Princes. For as his Virtues were not abundant, ſo neither were his Vices formidable. One thing is, he did not Reign an Independent Monarch of himſelf; for he was under *Marcus*; but yet of an equal Majeſty with him in the Empire; and at the ſame time he very much differed from him in this, that he was Licentious in his Manners; and was of an humour that was frank and open, and could diſſemble nothing. His Father was *Lucius Ælius Verus*, who formerly had been Adopted by *Hadrian*, being the firſt of the Title of a *Cæſar*, as it is uſed to denote the Perſon appointed to be the Succeſſour to the Empire; and who died in that Quality. His Grandfathers, and Great Grandfathers, together with many of his other Anceſtours, had been Conſuls. He was born at *Rome* in the Prætorſhip of his Father, upon the eighteenth of the Calends of *January*, which was heretofore alſo the Birth-day of the Emperor

Verus *his Birth and Extraction.*

Emperor *Nero*. His Family by his Father's ſide was for the moſt part out of the Country of *Hetruria*, and by his Mother's, out of the City *Faenza*.

This being his Extraction, he, upon the Adoption of his Father by *Hadrian*, came into the Family of that Emperour; continuing wherein after his Father's death, when *Hadrian* was pleaſed, out of his care for the good of Poſterity, to take *Antoninus Pius* to be his Son, and *Marcus Antoninus* to be his Grandſon; he not only obliged at the ſame time the former to Adopt this *Verus*, but to give him alſo his Daughter to Wife: which Daughter was married however to *Marcus Antoninus*, and not to *Verus*, becauſe *Verus* in reſpect of his Age was not then judged proper for her, (as we have ſaid above,) and *Verus* married *Lucilla*, the Daughter of *Marcus*. He was brought up in the Court. His Maſter in Grammar, for the Latin, was *Scaurinus*, the Son of that *Scaurus*, who was the Grammarian to *Hadrian*: For the Greek, he had *Telephas*, *Hephæſtion*, and *Harpocration*. His Maſters in the Greek Eloquence were *Apollonius*, *Celer Caninius*, and *Herodes Atticus*; for the Latin, *Cornelius Fronto*. His Maſters in Philoſophy were *Apollonius* and *Sextus*: all whom he loved very well, and they loved him; but he was one, that had little of a natural Genius to Learning. He pleaſed himſelf the moſt at firſt in making Verſes; and afterwards in making Orations. It is ſaid, he was a better Oratour than a Poet; or rather, to ſpeak more properly, that he

His Preceptors.

he was a worſe Poet than he was an Orator. Others ſay, he had the Wits of his Friends to aſſiſt him; and that in thoſe very things of his which are Extant, whatſoever they are, he ſerved himſelf of the ſame. For, they ſay, he had ſeveral Men of Learning and Eloquence always with him. The Governour of his Youth was *Nicomedes*. He was Voluptuous; and ſhew'd great gaiety in all ſorts of Pleaſures, Sports and Divertiſements, which became him but too well. He was Adopted at the Age of ſeven years, and was formed upon the Manners and Authority of *Marcus Antoninus*. He loved Hunting, Wreſtling, and all the Exerciſes of Youth; and was as a private Perſon in the Court no leſs than three and twenty years together.

The day that he put on the *Roman*, that is, the Man's Gown, *Antoninus Pius* dedicated a Temple to his Father *Ælius Verus*, and gave a Bounty to the People. When he was made Quæſtor, and entertained, at his admittance into that Office, the People, with the Publick Games, he took his place in the midſt betwixt *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus*. After his Quæſtorſhip he was preſently made Conſul, in Conjunction with *Sextilius Lateranus*. Some years after that he was made a ſecond time Conſul, in Conjunction with *Marcus Antoninus*: after which, he continued a long time in the Eſtate of a private Man, and was not adorned with the ſame Honours as *Marcus* was. He did not ſit in the Senate, before his Quæſtorſhip: neither did he accompany ſo much

He is made Conſul.

with the Emperor, as with the Captain of the Guards; and he had no other name of Honor added to his own more than this, that he was called the Emperor's Son. He much delighted in the Races of the Cirque, and in the Games of the Gladiatours; but as his Pleaſures and his Luxury were continually the occaſions of his falling into many errours; it ſeems, as if he was not retained in the Royal Family by *Antoninus Pius*, but upon this account; becauſe *Hadrian* had commanded him to Adopt him ſo expreſly, that he call'd him his own Grandſon: and ſo he retained him, it is ſuppoſed, more to diſcharge his Truſt, than as a mark of his Love. That which he approved in him was the Simplicity and the Debonaireneſs of his Temper: he adviſed him, as much as he could to form himſelf upon the Model of his Brother. In fine, when his Father was dead, his Brother conferred all things upon him, even to the participation of the Sovereignty; and made him his Colleague, although the Senate had deferred the Empire to himſelf alone.

He is made Colleague in the Empire.

Elevated thus to the Empire, and the Tribunitian Power being given him, and the honour of a Proconſulſhip, his Brother *Marcus Antoninus* ordered him to be called by the name of *Verus Antoninus*. As a teſtimony of his Senſe of ſo high Favours, he received *Marcus*, upon all occaſions, with the reſpect of a Lieutenant to a Proconſul, or of a Preſident of a Province to the Emperour. He conformed himſelf in all things at firſt with great care

care to the intentions and will of *Marcus*; who at the ſame time harangued the Soldiers in the name of them both upon this occaſion. But when *Verus* was gotten into *Syria*, the great liberty which he gave himſelf in living at his eaſe; with his lewd Amours, and the Debaucheries of all ſorts, to which he was abandoned, ſo changed him to another Man, that he defamed his Reputation. In like manner, after his return out of *Syria* he made a perpetual Tavern of the Court; where after having dined with *Marcus*, he retired to his own Company, and diverted himſelf with all ſorts of filthy Perſons. He paſſed whole nights at Game, according to a Cuſtom that he had learnt in *Syria*: and to ſuch a degree did he Rival the Vices of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Vitellius*, that he roved up and down in the night amongſt the Taverns and the Stews in diſguiſe; and pleaſed himſelf to make Debauches with the Mob, and to joyn in their Quarrels; out of which he often however came off with a black Face: But notwithſtanding his Diſguiſes, he was known in the publick Houſes where he came; where, at other times, he was for Breaking the Glaſſes and other Veſſels, and then he paid very well for them. He favoured very much the Green-Coat-Party in the Races run in the Cirque. He had Gladiators frequently to fight at the Entertainments which he made, and which he prolonged till midnight; till he fell a ſleep upon his Coach, and was taken up in his Cloaths, and carried to Bed. He ſlept but little, and had an eaſie

His Luxury.

digeſtion. In the mean time *Marcus* diſſembled all theſe things, as if he knew nothing of them, out of Modeſty, not to put to ſhame his Brother.

One Banquet, that he made, is remarkable: he had in the firſt place twelve Gueſts; whereas the known Proverb, as to the number at ſuch a time, is, *Septem convivium, novem convitium*; that is, *Seven's a Company, Nine is but Noiſe*. Every one of theſe had a handſome Boy at his Back to ſerve him. Every one his Sewer, and his Diſhes to himſelf, which were of their own chuſing. Every one his freſh Cup of Myrrh, or of the Cryſtal of *Alexandria* as oft as he drank. There were alſo Cups of Gold and Silver, and others ſet with Jewels. Then they had Crowns upon their Heads, adorned with golden Labels, and Flowers, ſuch as for the Seaſon were Rarities. They had their golden Boxes filled with pretious Ointments; and at parting they all had their Caleſhes drawn with Mules in Harneſs of Silver, preſented to them, to carry them home. The whole Treat was eſtimated at ſixty hundred thouſand Seſterces: which when *Marcus* heard of, he ſighed, and lamented the misfortune of the Publick in the Perſon of his Brother. After Supper they played at Dice all that night, till it was morning. And this he did after his return from the *Parthian* War, to which *Marcus* had ſent him purpoſely, that he ſhould not commit thoſe ſort of Actions in the ſight of all the World at *Rome*; thinking beſides that Travelling might teach him frugali-

frugality, and the dangers of War make him better, and more ſober, or at leaſt teach him to know himſelf to be an Emperour: but how much the better he was for it, this Supper alone ſhews, as well as the reſt of his Life.

His love of the Races of the Cirque was ſuch, that he ſent and received many Letters about them, into, and out of the Provinces. When preſent at them, and in Company with *Marcus*, he has ſuffered ſeveral Affronts from the contrary Party, for his over great Zeal to that to which he ſided. He had a Horſe called Swift, whoſe Image he cut out in Gold, and fed him with Raiſins and Almonds, in the Manger, inſtead of Corn; covered him with a Cloath of Purple, and ordered him to be kept in a Room in the Court. When this Horſe died, he Erected a Monument to him upon the *Vatican*. And it was firſt in the favour of this Horſe, that they began the Cuſtom of gathering Money for the Winning Horſes, in the way, as it were, of a Præmium. For this Horſe was ſo much beloved; that a Buſhel of pieces of Gold hath often been thrown to him by thoſe of his Side in the Cirque.

His negligent Conduct.

When *Verus* ſet forward upon his Expedition to the *Parthian* War, *Marcus* accompanied him as far as to *Capua*. But going on his way from *Capua*, he Revelled it ſo, at all the great Houſes where he came, that he contracted an Illneſs, and fell Sick at *Canoſa* in *Naples*, whither *Marcus* took a ſecond Journey to viſit him there. Certainly many ill

and unhandſome things appear in the Conduct of *Verus*, which he did during the time of the War. For when both the Lieutenant of *Syria* was killed, and the Legions there were cut off; the *Syrians* Meditating a Revolt, and the Eaſt laid Waſte by the Enemy, then was he paſſing his time in Hunting in *Apuleia*. At *Corinth* and *Athens*, he had his Muſical Conſorts, and Entertainments of Voices and Inſtruments. At every Port of note in *Aſia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Cilicia*, where he came, he made a ſtay to take his Pleaſures.

After he was come to *Antioch*, he followed his Luxuries to exceſs for his own part, whilſt his Generals carried on the *Parthian* War; who were *Statius Priſcus*, *Avidius Caſſius*, and *Martius Verus*. In four years they went through *Babylon*, the Kingdom of *Media*, and recovered *Armenia*: which procured to him the honourable Title of Conquerour of the *Armenians*, *Parthians*, and *Medes*, which was alſo Communicated to *Marcus* at *Rome*. He paſſed the Winters in thoſe four years, at the City of *Laodicea*; the Summers at the Village of *Daphne*, and the reſt of the time at *Antioch*. All the *Syrians* made a jeſt of him; and ſeveral Railleries, which they paſſed upon him upon the Stage in their Plays, are extant. He admitted his Slaves to be as free with him at all times, as the Cuſtom is to be upon the Feaſts of *Saturn*. He went, at the ſolicitation of his Courtiers, as far as to the Banks of the *Euphrates* twice; and he came up to *Epheſus* to meet his Wife *Lucilla*, who was ſent

ſent to him from *Marcus* her Father. But his deſign in this laſt Journey principally was to prevent *Marcus*, that he ſhould not come down with her into *Syria*, and ſo detect his ill deportments: becauſe *Marcus* had told the Senate, that he would bear his Daughter Company into *Syria*. At laſt, when the War was ended, he appointed Kings over the reſpective Kingdoms, and gave the Governments of the Provinces amongſt his Officers: and then returned himſelf to *Rome*, but much againſt his inclination, though it was to take the honour of a Triumph; becauſe to leave *Syria*, was to leave, as it were, his own Proper Kingdom. So he came and triumphed in Company with his Brother, and the Senate confirmed the Titles to him, which he had before received from the Army.

His return to Rome.

He ſhaved his Beard (which he had not done before) in *Syria*, only to pleaſure an ordinary Miſtreſs, that he had gained there; which gave the *Syrians* an occaſion to ſay ſeveral things upon him. The time of his return to *Rome* was unfortunate: for it ſeemed, as if he brought the Plague with him thither, and into the Provinces through which he paſſed. This Plague aroſe firſt in the Country of *Babylon*; where out of a ſmall golden Coffer, which a Soldier had plundered in the Temple of *Apollo*, proceeded, it is ſaid, ſuch a Peſtilentious ſtench, as ſpread itſelf from thence into *Parthia*, and ſo over the World. Not that this was yet a fault of *Verus*, but of *Caſſius*; who, contrary to his Faith given, raſed

the City of *Seleucia*, after it had received our Forces, as Friends. At the ſame time, amongſt others, *Quadratus*, a Writer of the *Parthian* War, Vindicates *Caſſius* too againſt this accuſation; and lays the blame upon the *Seleucians* themſelves, for breaking their Faith with *Caſſius* the firſt. But however that is, *Verus* had ſo much reverence for *Marcus*, that he deſired to Communicate to him, upon the day that they triumphed together, the ſame Titles and Names of Honour which had been deferred to himſelf. But yet, after his return from the *Parthian* War, he was not altogether ſo very obſervant of *Marcus* as formerly, ſuffering his Servants to have too great an influence over him, and acting in many things by them, without the advice of his Brother.

His other Vanities.

To which it is to be added, that he brought a Company of Mimicks with him out of *Syria*, as if they had been ſo many Kings to adorn his Triumph. The principal of whom called by the name of *Paris*. Then he built himſelf a famous Seat upon the *Via Clodia*; where he Revelled with great Luxury for ſeveral days together in Company with his Servants, and ſuch of his choſen Friends, whoſe preſence brought no conſtraint upon him. He invited *Marcus* thither one day to ſee him; who came, but it was to ſhew to him the ſanctity of his life, which was great and worthy to have been the ſubject of his imitation. *Marcus* tarried with him five days; but employed his time all the while in continual Buſineſs,

whilſt

whilſt *Verus* was either Feaſting, or providing for his Feaſts. Another Mimick that he brought with him out of *Syria*, as a Trophy of the *Parthian* War, was one, that he called by the Name of *Apolauſtus*; but his former Name was *Agrippus Memphis*. He brought with him beſides, for his diverſion, Fidlers, Pipers, Players, Buffoons, Juglers, and of all thoſe ſorts of Slaves which *Syria* and *Alexandria* are ſo delighted with; that really one would think by his Captives, that he had been making War, not againſt *Parthia*, but againſt the Stage.

It was not openly viſible to the World, but yet it was privately whiſpered, that this diverſity of his Life to that of *Marcus*, with many other things, occaſioned an ill Underſtanding betwixt them. Eſpecially, this was ſaid upon the Death of *Libo*, who was a Couſin-German to *Marcus*, and who had been ſent by him, as his Lieutenant into *Syria*; where behaving himſelf more haughtily than a Senatour in that Quality ought to have done, and ſaying, *That he would write to* Marcus *to be ſatisfied, if perhaps he doubted in any thing*; *Verus* could not take it, that he paid no more Reſpect to him, who was an Emperor upon the Place; and after this *Libo* died ſuddenly, with almoſt the Marks of Poyſon upon him. From which ſome thought, that he was poyſoned by the hand of *Verus*. And though *Marcus* was not of this Opinion, yet the thing ſerved to encreaſe the rumor of their diſagreement. *Geminas* and *Agaclytus*, two Servants of *Verus*, had a great

a great Influence over him, as I have already ſaid in the Life of *Marcus*. He married the latter to *Libo*'s Widow, although contrary to the deſire of *Marcus*, who therefore denied his Preſence to the Eſpouſals. *Codes*, and *Ælius Lætus* or *Electus*, were two others of his manumitted Servants: He had more beſides, who were all ill Men enough, and whom *Marcus* diſmiſſed, after the Death of their Maſter; only *Ælius Lætus* he retained, who afterwards was the Author of the Death of his Son *Commodus*. In fine, when the *German* War came on, becauſe *Marcus* neither thought fit to ſend *Verus* to it alone, nor yet to leave him in the Town alone, upon the Account of his great Luxury, they went both together to it, and came to the City of *Aquileia*; where *Verus* did nothing but divert and enjoy himſelf, whilſt *Marcus* took upon him the Care of all things. They croſſed the *Alps*, although this was much againſt the Inclination of *Verus*; and as for what paſſed afterwards betwixt the Ambaſſadors of the *Barbarians* on the one hand, begging Peace, and our Emperors on the other, it hath been already repreſented ſufficiently in the Life of *Marcus*. So the heat of the War being over, and *Verus* urging to return to *Aquileia* again, becauſe he longed for the Pleaſures of *Rome*, it was reſolved by both to go back to *Rome*. But as *Verus* was in the Coach, not far from the City of *Altino*, he was taken ſuddenly with an Apoplexy; for which, lifting him immediately out of the Coach, and letting him Blood, they brought him

The German *Expedition.*

him alive unto *Altino*, where he continued three Days ſpeechleſs, and then died. *Death of Verus.*

There was a Diſcourſe, as if he had been Inceſtuous with his Wife's Mother, *Fauſtina*; and that *Fauſtina* had contrived his Death, by putting Poyſon in his Oyſters, becauſe the Converſation which he had with the Mother, he diſcovered to the Daughter. There was another Story made of his Death, which I have ſet down in the Life of *Marcus*, but which is utterly inconſiſtent with the Virtue of that great Man. Others attributed his Death to his own Wife, becauſe he was a little too indulgent to the Love which he had for *Fabia* his Siſter, whoſe Power ſhe could not brook. And certainly there was that great Kindneſs betwixt *Verus* and *Fabia*, that it was alſo reported, that they two had conſulted together to kill *Marcus*; but when this was diſcovered to *Marcus* by *Agaclytus* the Servant of *Verus*, *Fauſtina* prevented the Murder of *Marcus*, and ſhe herſelf killed *Verus*.

As to his Perſon, he was well ſhaped, with a good Viſage, and a Beard, before he ſhaved, extraordinary long, like a Barbarian; tall, and a frown upon his Brow that was awful. He had yellow Hair, which he took a great Care of, and uſed an Art with Gold Duſt, to make it glitter, and look yellower ſtill. He was a little ſlow in Speech, a great Lover of Game, always Luxurious, and in many things a *Nero*, excepting Cruelty and Buffoonry. Amongſt the reſt of his Curious Furniture for his Luxury, he had a Cryſtal Cup, that he called *Swift*, after *His Perſonage.*

after the Name of his beloved Horſe; and it was of ſo large a ſize, it held a Draught indeed more fit for a Horſe, than any thing elſe. He lived Two and Forty Years, and reigned Eleven, in Conjunction with his Brother.

His Body was interred in the Sepulchre of *Hadrian*, where his Father the *Cæſar* alſo lies. The Story which I now ſaid, is inconſiſtent with the Virtue of *Marcus Antoninus* is well known, and it is this; That *Marcus* with a Knife empoyſoned on the one ſide of it, divided a Piece of a Sacrifice to *Verus*, and gave that Part thereof to *Verus* to eat, which was touched with the Poyſon; which is a Crime impoſſible to be conceived of *Marcus*, whatever the Life and Actions of *Verus* might perhaps deſerve. Neither do we leave it in doubt, but wholly reject it as a falſe and ſuppoſititious thing; being aſſured, that excepting your Majeſty, O *Dioclefian*, as yet, ſince *Marcus*, Flattery it ſelf hath not been able to form a better and a more accompliſhed Prince than he.

THE

THE LIFE OF *AVIDIUS CASSIUS*,

BY

VULCATIUS GALLICANUS:

Addreſſed to the

EMPEROR *DIOLESIAN*.

Avidius Caſſius, was, as ſome think, deſcended from the Antient Family of the *Caſſii*; but yet this was only by the ſide of his Mother: for his Father was *Avidius Severus*, who from a private Extraction, and the Degree of a Centurion, raiſed himſelf unto the higheſt Honours; of whom *Quadratus* *His Extraction.*

Quadratus makes mention in his Hiſtory; and indeed ſo much to his Advantage, that he calls him a great and neceſſary Man in the State, and who had a great Intereſt with the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, in whoſe Reign he died. This *Caſſius*, of the Family, I ſay, of thoſe *Caſſii*, who had conſpired againſt *Julius Cæſar*, was one that ſecretly hated a Monarchy, and could ſcarce endure the very Name of an Emperor: He ſaid, *That no State was ſo intolerable, as an Empire, which cannot be put down without another Emperor.* In his younger Years, he had attempted to depoſe *Antoninus Pius.* It is true, his Father being a great and worthy Perſon, covered him againſt the Charge of that Ambition, but yet he was always looked upon as a ſuſpicious Perſon.

A LETTER of *Verus Antoninus* concerning him; written to the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, ſays thus.

AVidius Caſſius *hath a greedy Eye upon the Empire, at leaſt as I think, and as ſome time ago it was known he had, under the Reign of* Antonius Pius *our Father. I deſire you to take good Notice of him: Every thing we do diſpleaſes him. He grows extraordinary Rich, laughs at us both; calls you a Doating Philoſopher, and*

me

me a Luxurious Fool. Conſider, what is to be done: I hate not the Man, but do you ſee whether it is not ill for you and your Children to keep ſuch a one in your Army; and one beſides that the Soldiers love, and hearken to with pleaſure.

The ANSWER of *Marcus Antoninus*, concerning *Avidius Caſſius*, was this.

I Have read your Letter, in which you are tod' apprehenſive, than I would have an Emperor to be, or than ſuits well with our Reigns: For if the Empire is allotted to Avidius Caſſius *by Heaven, we ſhould not be able to cut him off, if we would: You know the ſaying of your Grandfather* Hadrian, That no Man kills his Succeſſour. *But if it is not ſo allotted him, he will fall of himſelf into the fatal Snare, without our Cruelty. Neither can we make a Man a Criminal, who is accuſed by none, and who as you ſay is beloved by the Army. In Actions of Treaſon alſo, ſo it is, that even tho' they are proved upon Men, the World is apt to think the Sufferer injured; which made your Grandfather* Hadrian *ſay,* O the hard Fate of Emperors, who cannot be believed, that they are Uſurpt upon, until they are killed! *I choſe to name* Hadrian *for it, rather than* Domitian, *who was the firſt indeed*

indeed that said so; because when a thing is well said, yet if it is the saying of a Tyrant, it hath not the Authority with it, as it deserves. Therefore let Avidius Cassius *have his own ways, being a good Officer, Strict and Stout, and of great Use in the State. For as to what you urge about the taking Care of my Children, if* Avidius Cassius *shall deserve to be better beloved than they, and it is expedient for the Publick, rather that he live, than the Children of* Marcus Antoninus, *let them perish.*

This is what *Verus* and what *Marcus Antoninus*, severally wrote concerning *Cassius*. Now we shall explain in short the Temper and the Manners of this Person; which is all that can well be known of such, whose Lives, no one presumes to write to their Advantage, out of Respect to those by whom they were destroyed; only we shall add something of his assumption of the Empire, and of his Death. Having in this Design that we are upon, proposed to ourselves to take in the Histories of all that in any wise have born the Title of Emperors, whether justly or unjustly, to the end that your Majesty, O *Diocletian*, should have a perfect Account before you, to your own Person, of the Events of the Empire of *Rome*. He was a Man of that Variety in his Manners, that now he was cruel and ill humored, then mild and obliging; now he was very Religious, then Profane; sometimes he drank hard, then he was as abstemious; sometimes he eat very much, another time he fasted as much;

much; ſometimes he was all for Women, then he was all for Chaſtity; ſo that People were not wanting to call him a *Catiline*; and he ſaid, they might call him what they pleaſed, ſo he but gained his Point of the *Dialogiſt*; by which Name he meant *Marcus Antoninus*, who was ſo eminently skill'd in Philoſophy, that going to the War againſt the *Marcomanni*; and every body being in fear for him, leſt any thing ill ſhould happen to him, they deſired him before he went, that he would diſcover to them his Precepts of Philoſophy; which at their Entreaty he did, in Diſcourſes to them, which he continued three Days together. Beſides this, *Avidius Caſſius* was a ſtrict Man for Military Diſcipline; inſomuch, that he was willing to have himſelf be called a *Marius*.

His ſtrict Diſcipline

Now having begun to make mention of his Strictneſs, there are many Inſtances not to be omitted, in which he ſhew'd himſelf not ſo properly to ſay ſtrict, as he was cruel. For firſt, if the Soldiers had taken but the leaſt thing by violence from the People of the Provinces, he crucified them immediately upon the place, where they committed the Fact. He had another way of executing them, which was purely of his own Invention, which was this. A great Stake of Timber was ſet up, which was Eighty, or a Hundred Foot high; the condemned were tied to this Stake in Ranks, from the top to the bottom; at the bottom was a Fire, which burnt ſome to Death, whilſt others were ſuffocated with the Smoak, and

others were ſometimes frightned to Death. He hath ordered Ten in a Body to be chain'd, and thrown into a River, or into the Sea together. To Deſerters, he many times cut off their Hands, or their Legs and Thighs; ſaying, *The Example of a Criminal living in that manner in miſery, is of a greater Force, than if he was kill'd at a blow.* A Party of the Auxiliaries, once in the Army under his Command, had without his knowledge ſurpriſed the *Sarmatæ*, as they were lying careleſly upon the Banks of the *Danube*, of whom they killed Three Thouſand, and returned to their Corps again, with a great Booty. And as it was their Centurions that had put them upon this Action, the Centurions expected to be rewarded for it; becauſe with a handful of Men they had killed ſuch a Number of the Enemy, whilſt the Tribunes and the other Officers had neglected the Opportunity that was offered. But for their Reward, he ordered them to be all taken, and, which is a thing without Example, crucified like Slaves. He ſaid, *It might have happened, that the Enemy had had a Trick in it, and an Ambuſcade, which would have much reflected upon the Honour of the* Roman *Name.* So a great Mutiny upon this ariſing in the Army, he came immediately to them, and ſaid, *Kill me, if you think fit, and add that Fact more to this Corruption of Diſcipline* At which they were all appeaſed. He ſhew'd he did not fear them; and this made him to be feared by them: Which added ſuch Strength to the Diſcipline of the *Romans*, and

ſtruck

ſtruck ſuch a Regard on the other ſide into the Enemy, that they came and begged of the Emperor *Antoninus* an Hundred Years Peace, having had the Satisfaction to ſee thoſe very Perſons who had gotten a Victory over them, condemned to Death, by the Judgment of the *Roman* General himſelf; becauſe without his permiſſion, they had without Orders gained that Victory.

Many more of his Severities upon the Soldiers are to be ſeen in *Æmilius Parthenianus*; he cauſed them to be beaten with Rods in the Markets, and in the midſt of the Camp; he cut off their Heads, or many times their Hands. He forbad them to carry any thing with them in an Expedition, beſide Bacon, Biſket, and Vinegar; which if he found they tranſgreſſed, he not a little puniſhed their Luxury.

A LETTER from the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* to the Lieutenant of *Syria*, ſays thus of him.

I Have given the Legions of Syria, *which* Cæſonius Vectilianus *ſays, that he found all in Hot Baths, diſſolved in Luxury, and living in all ſorts of Pleaſures, to the Command of* Avidius Caſſius, *and I think, I have not done amiſs: You know him a Man of the Severity and Diſcipline of the antient* Caſſii; *and to ſpeak truly*

without the Antient Diſcipline, the Soldiers cannot be well governed. You remember that good Verſe of the Poet,

Moribus antiquis res ſtat Romana virilis.

That is, the Cuſtoms of our Fore-fathers, and ſuch Perſons as were in thoſe days, are the beſt Supports of the Empire of Rome. *Do you take care that there be ſufficient Proviſions laid up for the ſaid Legions, and if I am not miſtaken in* Avidius Caſſius, *he is one that will not let them be loſt.*

The ANSWER of the Lieutenant to *Marcus Antoninus* was this.

IT is well done, Sir, that your Majeſty hath preferred Caſſius *to the Command of the Legions of* Syria. *For there is nothing ſo convenient, as a ſevere ſort of a Man for thoſe Grecianiſed Soldiers. He will ſtrip them of all their hot Baths, and ſhake all their fine Flowers off of their Heads, their Necks, and their Boſoms. All the neceſſary Proviſions for the Legions are ready, and nothing will be wanting, ſo long as they have ſo good a Commander over them.*

Not

Nor were they miſtaken in their Judgments which they had of *Avidius Caſſius*. He immediately commanded the Soldiers to their reſpective Colours, and publiſhed an Order, that if any one of them was but ſeen at *Daphne*, he ſhould be caſhiered. Every Seventh Day he examined their Arms, and Cloaths, and Equipages. He baniſhed all ſorts of Pleaſures from the Camp, and unleſs they corrected their Manners, he aſſured them, *they ſhould paſs the Winter there in their Tents*; which certainly had been done, if they had not lived more ſoberly. He exerciſed the whole Body of them every Seventh Day at their Arrows and their Arms. *It was a miſerable thing*, he ſaid, *that Wreſtlers, Huntſmen, and Gladiators ſhould be continually exerciſed, and not Soldiers; to whom their Labours are always the leſs, after they are once accuſtomed to them.* Thus correcting the Diſcipline of the Army, and ordering all things well in *Armenia*, *Arabia*, and *Egypt*, he made himſelf to be beloved by all the Eaſtern People, eſpecially by thoſe of *Antioch*; inſomuch, that that City conſented to his Aſſumption of the Empire, as *Marius Maximus* ſays in the Life of *Marcus Antoninus*, who in his Second Book of the ſame Life ſays alſo, that when the Robbers of the Parts called *Bucolia* in *Egypt*, had committed many Diſorders there, which were heavy upon that Kingdom, they were reduced again under ſubjection by *Caſſius*.

Caſſius *uſurps the Empire.*

Now this *Caſſius* ſet himſelf up in the *Eaſt* to be Emperor, ſome ſay by an Intrigue of

Fauſtina, who deſpairing of the long Life of her Husband *Marcus Antoninus*, was in a fear, that ſhe alone ſhould not be able to protect her Infant-Children, and that ſomebody ſhould come upon the Throne, who would deſtroy them. But however this is, to take the Soldiers and the People off of their Love to *Marcus Antoninus*, in order to bring them to conſent to himſelf, *Caſſius* ſerved himſelf of an Artifice, which was, to give out, that *Marcus* was dead, and to qualify the Regret of his Loſs, he mentioned him with the Reſpect of one made a God. Then as Emperor, he choſe himſelf a Captain of the Guards, and made one of his Sons Governour of the City of *Alexandria*, which Two were afterwards both kill'd by the Army, but it was done againſt the Will, and without the Knowledge of *Marcus Antoninus*; who neither fell into any Paſſion to hear of the News of the Rebellion, nor ſought his Revenge upon the Children or Friends of *Caſſius*. The Senate declared him an Enemy, and confiſcated his Eſtate, which *Marcus Antoninus* forbidding to be returned into his proper Coffers, it was paid by the Order of the Senate into the publick Treaſury. Some pretended, which ſtruck a Terror into the City, that in the abſence of *Antoninus*, *Avidius Caſſius*, as he was entirely beloved by all, excepting the looſer ſort of People, would come to *Rome*, and expoſe it to Free-Plunder; upon the Account of the Senatours eſpecially, who had declared him an Enemy, and confiſcated his Eſtate. On

the

the other hand, the Love of *Antoninus* himſelf to *Caſſius*, appeared very much in this, that when he was killed, and every body, unleſs the Citizens of *Antioch* were contented at it, he was not killed by the Command of him; for there is no doubt, but he would have ſpared him, if it had been in his Power ſo to do.

Clemency of Antoninus.

And when his Head was brought to him, he did not rejoyce, nor was he elevated at it at all, but on the contrary, he was very ſorry that he was deprived of an occaſion to ſhew his Mercy; and ſaid, *He would rather have had him taken alive, to have convinced him of his Ingratitude, and then ſaved him.* One ſaid, *That* Antoninus *was to blame for being ſo favourable to his Enemy, and to his Enemy's Friends and Children, and all his adherents:* Adding, *That if* Caſſius *had got the better, what then? Antoninus* anſwered, *We have not ſo ſerved the Gods, nor ſo lived, as that it ſhould be his luck to Conquer us.* Upon which he reckoned up all the Princes that had been killed, and ſaid, *That there were Reaſons for which they had deſerved it; for ſcarce ever any good Prince had been either killed or conquered by an Uſurper; for* Nero *deſerved it*; Caligula *deſerved it*; Otho *and* Vitellius *were not fit to reign. He thought as much of* Galba *for his Covetouſneſs,* and ſaid, *That Avarice in an Emperor is a moſt bitter Fault. In fine, not* Auguſtus Cæſar, *nor* Trajan, *nor* Hadrian, *nor* Antoninus Pius *his Father, could ever be ſurmounted by the Rebels, tho' they had many of them; but it was the Re-*

bels Fate to be deſtroyed, ſometime even without the Knowledge, and contrary to the Will of thoſe Princes. So he deſired the Senate not to animadvert too ſeverely upon the Accomplices of the defection of *Caſſius*, wiſhing that no Senatour might be put to Death in his Reign; which gained him an extraordinary deal of Love. Some few Centurions were puniſhed, and then as for others who were baniſhed, he ordered them to be re-called and pardoned them.

He pardoned the *Antiochians*, who had ſo firmly adhered to the Uſurpation of *Caſſius*, together with other Cities that had aſſiſted him. For tho' at the firſt he was very angry at the former, ſo as to take away their publick Games, and many other Ornaments of their City, yet he afterward reſtored them to them again. He beſtowed a Moiety of the Eſtate of *Caſſius* upon his Sons, and gave his Daughters the Gold, Silver, and Jewels. *Alexandra*, who was one of them, and *Druentianus* her Husband, had free Power from him to go whither they would, and lived in the greateſt Security, not like the Pledges of an Uſurper, but the Children of a Senatour. He forbad the Fortune of their Houſe, ſo much as to be caſt in their Teeth; and ſome who were rude to them upon that Account, were by his Order proſecuted and puniſhed for it.

Here

Here follows a Letter from the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* to *Fauſtina* his Wife.

VErus *formerly wrote the Truth to me concerning* Avidius Caſſius, *when he ſaid,* That he had a greedy Eye upon the Empire. *For I ſuppoſe you have heard, what the Expreſſes bring of him. So come thou to* Albano, *that we may conſider together of Matters by the Will of the Gods, and fear nothing.*

This obviates what *Marius Maximus* ſays of *Fauſtina*, who deſiring to defame her, makes her acceſſary to the Uſurpation of *Caſſius*. Her Anſwer in which ſhe preſſes him to be very ſevere was this.

I *Will come ſtrait to* Albano, *to morrow, as you command. However, I now adviſe, that if you love your Children, you would proſecute this Rebellion moſt ſeverely: And you may aſſure your ſelf, that unleſs you oppreſs them, they will you.*

Another Letter of *Fauſtina* to *Marcus Antoninus* upon the ſame Subject.

M*Y Mother* Fauſtina, *in the time of the Defection of* Celſus, *adviſed your Father her Husband* Antoninus Pius, *that he ſhould firſt ſhew his kindneſs to his own Family, and next*

to

to Others. Becauſe he cannot be a good Prince, who does not take care of his Wife and Children. You ſee what Age our Son Commodus *is of.* Pompeianus *your Son-in-Law is already Old, and a Stranger. Mind what you do about* Avidius Caſſius *and his Aſſociates. Do not ſpare Men, who have not ſpared you, and who if they had conquered, would neither have ſpared me, nor our Children. I ſhall follow you in your Journey quickly. I could not come to* Formiæ, *becauſe our* Fadilla *is Sick. But though I find you not at* Formiæ, *I ſhall overtake you at* Capua, *which City may do good both to me and our Children in our Healths. I deſire you to diſpatch* Soteridas *the Phyſician to* Formiæ. *I cannot truſt to* Piſitheus; *he knows not what Phyſick to give to a young Girl. I receiv'd your Letter, which you ſent by* Calphurnius, *and I ſhall anſwer it, if I ſtay, by* Cæcilius *the old Eunuch, a truſty Man whom you know, and by whom I will ſend you an account by Word of Mouth, what the Wife of* Avidius Caſſius, *and Son, and Son-in Law, are reported to ſay of you.*

By theſe Letters, one may ſee that *Fauſtina* was not at all Privy to the Enterpriſe of *Caſſius*, upon whom ſhe is ſo ſevere. What *Antoninus* writ to her again, the following Letter ſhews us

You, it is true, my Fauſtina, *Adviſe very well in your love to your Husband and Children. I have Read your Letter, in which you deſire me to proſecute the Accomplices of* Caſſius. *But yet I ſhall ſpare his Children, Son in-Law, and Wife, and write to the Senate to be Favourable*

to

to all the Party. For there is not any thing that more recommends a Roman *Emperour to all the World, than Clemency. This made* Cæſar *a God. This Conſecrated* Auguſtus. *This particularly adorned your Father with the Title of* Pious. *In a word, if they had gone according to the judgment of my Advice upon the War, not ſo much as* Caſſius *ſhould have been killed. So be then ſatisfied. The Gods protect me: my Piety is pleaſing to the Gods. I have declared our* Pompeianus, *Conſul for the next year.* This is what *Antoninus* writ to his Wife.

Now let us ſee what an Oration, upon this occaſion, he ſent to the Senate. A part of it is thus.

Fathers of the Senate; you have now my Son-in-Law to be your Conſul: I ſay, Pompeianus; *whoſe Age had long ago been rewarded with that Office, but that other extraordinary Men have intervened, to whom it was juſt to pay the Honour, that the State hath owed them. Now as for what concerns the Defection of* Caſſius, *I beg and conjure you Fathers of the Senate, that you would continue to me, nay to your ſelves, the Character of Piety and Clemency, and let the Senate put none to death. Let not one member of the Senate be put to death, nor the blood be ſpilt of any one that is Noble. Let the baniſhed return, and the Proſcribed receive their Eſtates. I wiſh I could raiſe even the dead to life again. For Revenge is never good in an Emperor, it appears ill in his own Cauſe, let it be never ſo juſt. You will give a Pardon therefore to the Children of* Avidius Caſſius, *his Son-in-Law, and his Wife. But why do I ſay*

Pardon,

Pardon, when they have committed nothing? Let them live in ſafety, knowing that they live under the Reign of Marcus Antoninus. *Let them enjoy the Patrimony of their Parents, which hath in part been already granted to them. Let them have the Gold, the Silver, and the Wardrobe. Let them be rich. Let them be ſafe. Let them have their full Liberty, and in the ſight of all People. Let them be as ſo many inſtances of mine, and inſtances of your Clemency. Nor is this ſuch a great Grace, Fathers of the Senate, to grant a Pardon to the Wives and Children of perſons Proſcribed. I do further deſire of you, that ſuch of the Senatorian, and Equeſtrian Orders, as have been Accomplices in this Defection, be Protected alſo by your Authority from Murder, from Proſcription, from Fear, from Infamy, from Envy, and from all kind of Injury; and that you allow this Honour to my Reign, that none upon theſe accounts are killed in it, but who only in the very Tumults are killed.*

This great Clemency of his was followed by the Senate, with theſe Acclamations. *The Gods preſerve* Antoninus *the* Pious, *the Gods ſave* Antoninus *the* Merciful. O Antoninus *the* Merciful! *the Gods ſave you. Your Majeſty hath refuſed to do what you very well might have done: we have done but what became us. Make* Commodus, *your Son, Emperor with you. Strengthen your Race. See that your Children are ſafe. No Force can touch a good Reign. We beg the Tribunitian Power for* Commodus Antoninus. *We beg the Preſence of your Majeſty with us. We Congratulate you for your Philoſophy,*

phy, your Patience, your Learning, your Nobility, your Innocence. You conquer your Foes. You ſurmount your Enemies. The Gods ſave you.

So the Poſterity of *Avidius Caſſius* lived in Safety, and were admitted unto Honours, till *Commodus Antoninus* ſucceeded after the Death of his Father, and then commanded them all to be burnt alive, as much as if he had ſurpriſed them in the very Act of ſome Treaſon.

This then is what we have found concerning *Avidius Caſſius*, who in his Temper was always various, but more eſpecially propenſe to Correction and Cruelty: But yet if he had carried the Empire, he would have been flattered with the Name of not only of a Gracious, but an Uſeful, and an Excellent Prince.

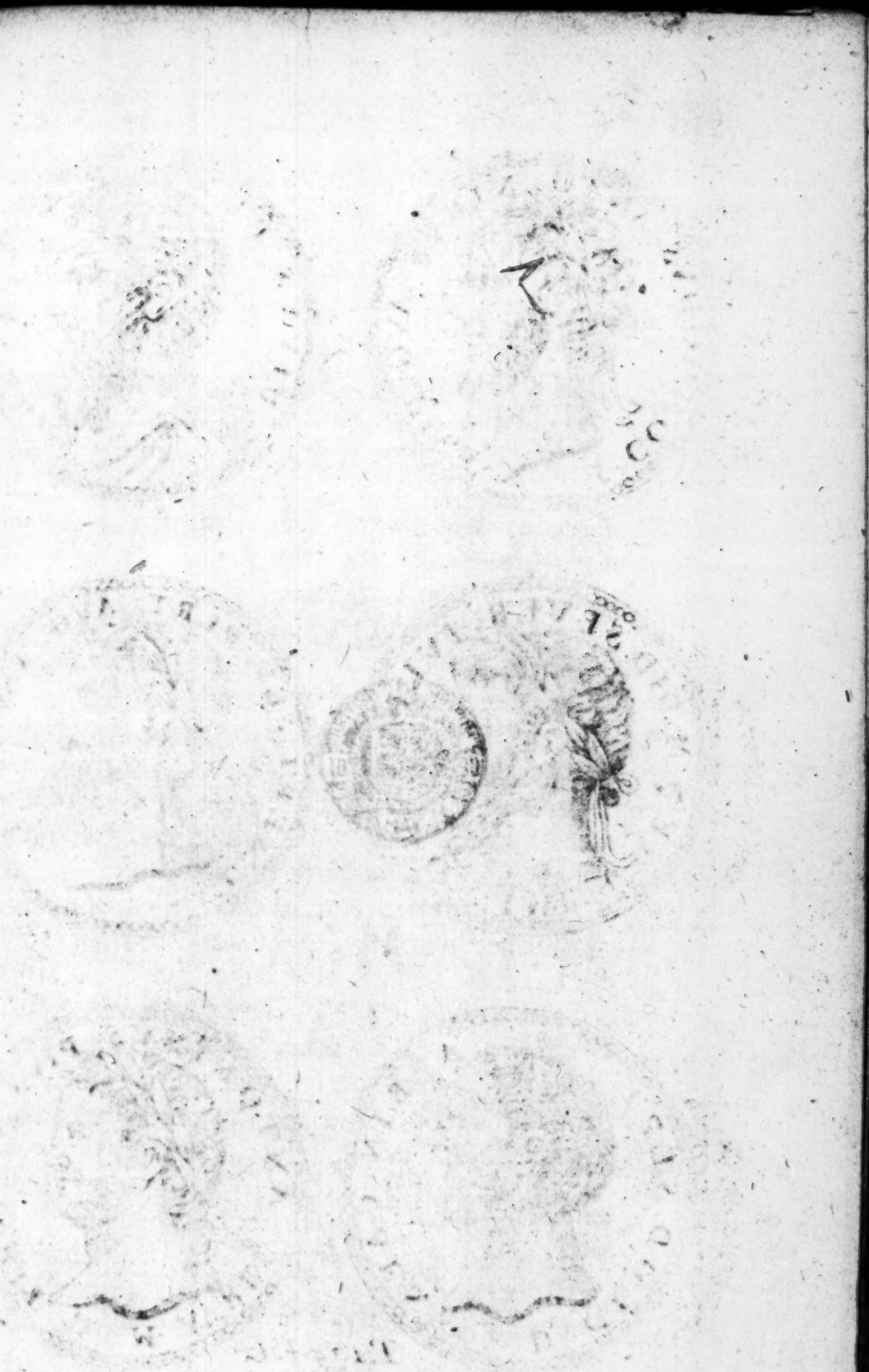
A Letter to his Son-in-Law, which he writ in the time, that he acted the Emperor, is in part as follows.

UNhappy State! How miſerably does it ſuffer under the Power of the Rich, and Men thirſting to be ſo? Marcus *is an excellent Perſon truly; who to get himſelf the Title of Merciful, ſuffers thoſe to live, whoſe Lives he condemns at the ſame time! Where is now that* Lucius Caſſius, *whoſe Name I bear, tho' I am unworthy of it? Where is that* Marcus Cato, *the Cenſor? Where is all the Diſcipline of our Fore fathers, which decayed long ago, but now is not ſo much as asked for?* Marcus Antoninus *Philoſophiſes, and Diſputes about Clemency*

mency and the Soul, to Juſtice and Honeſty; and never thinks of the State. You ſee there is need of a ſevere Hand, to reduce things to the Condition they were in in antient Times. For my part, I wiſh to thoſe Preſidents of the Provinces, all the Chaſtiſement that they deſerve. What can I think them Proconſuls, or think them Preſidents, who live, as if the Provinces were given them by the Senate, and by Marcus *the Emperor, only to be Luxurious in, and to get to be Rich? You have heard of the Captain of the Guards to our Philoſopher. He who three Days before was a Beggar, and a poor Rat, is now become a rich Man on a ſudden. From whence, I pray, but out of the Bowels of the State, and the Fortunes of the People of the Provinces? Well, let them be Rich, let them be Wealthy, they will ſo much the more enrich the publick Coffers. The Gods favour only an honeſt Cauſe, and the Friends of* Caſſius *ſhall reſtore the Empire.*

This Letter very well ſhews, what a ſtrict ſort of an Emperor *Caſſius* would have made, if he had reigned.

THE




M. COMMODVS ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS


DIVVS PERT. PIVS PATER


IMP. CAES. M. DID. SEVER. IVLIAN. AVG.


L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. VIII


D. CLOD. SEPT. ALBIN. CAES.


M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. BRIT

P. 175. Vol. 1

THE Life and Reign OF THE EMPEROR *Commodus Antoninus*,

BY

ÆLIUS LAMPRIDIUS:

Addreſſed to the

EMPEROR *DIOCLESIAN.*

His Extraction.

AS for what concerns the Family of *Commodus Antoninus*, we have ſpoken ſufficiently already upon that Head in the Life of his Father *Marcus*. He was born at *Lavinia*, the Day before the Calends of *September*, under the Conſulſhips of his

his Father and his Uncle. It is ſaid, his Grandfather by his Mother's ſide had been formerly born at the ſame place. When *Fauſtina* was big of him, ſhe dreamt, *She ſhould be brought to Bed of two Serpents, but that one of them was more Fierce than the other.* So ſhe was brought to Bed of *Commodus* and *Antoninus*, at one Birth; the latter died at four Years of Age, and yet the Mathematicians had promiſed him by his Stars, an equal Fortune and Life with *Commodus.*

His Preceptors.

Marcus Antoninus educated *Commodus* as well, according to his own Precepts, as to thoſe of the great and the beſt Men. *Oneſicritus* was his Maſter in the Greek; *Capella Antiſtius* in the Latin, and *Atteius Sanctus* in Rhetorick. But as many Maſters as he had in the good Arts, they ſignified nothing to him; whether the Fault was in his natural Genius, or in thoſe who had the Conduct of his Youth at the Court. For from a Boy, he was Naught, Filthy, Cruel, Lewd without Shame; at the ſame time, Excellent at things not belonging to the Quality of an Emperor, as Glaſs-making, Dancing, Singing, Playing upon the Pipe; a Buffoon, and a Gladiator in Perfection. He gave an early mark of his Cruelty at *Civita Vecchia*, in the Twelfth Year of his Age; when Bathing, and the Water happening to be a little too hot, he commanded his Servant to take the Man that attended the Bath, and throw him into the Furnace: In whoſe ſtead, the Servant threw in a Sheep-skin, which he did, to make him believe, that it was indeed the

Bagnio-

Bagnio man, by the filthineſs of the Stench. He had the Title of *Cæſar* given him, when a Boy, together with *Verus*, a Brother of his; and in his Fourteenth Year, he was entred into the College of the Prieſts.

He was declared *Prince of the* Roman *Youth*, at the ſame time that he put on the Man's, that is, the *Roman* Gown; before which, he had already given a Largeſs to the People. He put on that Gown upon the Nones of *July*, the Day that *Romulus* died, and the Year that *Caſſius* revolted from *Marcus Antoninus*. He went with his Father into *Syria* and *Egypt*, and returned with him again back to *Rome*. Then by a Diſpenſation of the Law, as to his Age, he was made Conſul; and upon the Fifth of the Calends of *December*, under the Conſulſhips of *Pollio* and *Aper*, he was declared Emperor in Conjunction with his Father, and triumphed with him; the Senate having decreed it ſo to his Honour. He went with his Father to the *German* War: But as for ſuch of the Officers of his Court, and of his Attendants, as were Perſons of Virtue, he could never endure them. All the worſt ſort of Men he gladly kept in his Service; and if they were removed from him, he was ſick till he had them again. Hence he made a Tavern and Bawdy houſe continually of the Court, never ſparing for Coſt or Modeſty; playing at Dice, and hiring the lewd Women of the Town, which were any thing pretty, to be with him, to make a Sport with in all manner of Debauchery. Sometimes he went about

He is declared Emperor, A.C. CLXXXI.

His Debauchery.

the Markets with ſmall Wares like a Pedlar; ſometimes he was a Horſe-Merchant, ſometimes he drove his own Chariots in the Coachmen's Cloaths. He eat and drank with Gladiators, pimped to the Whores with Waſhes, and appeared to be born rather for the moſt infamous uſes, than for that Place unto which Fortune raiſed him.

He turned off at his coming to the Empire, his Father's old Servants, and his old Friends. And one day he made an attempt upon the Modeſty of a Son of *Salvius Julianus*, who was one of his Commanders. But being repulſed, he ever after ſtuck upon the skirts of his Father. All the beſt ſort of Men about the Court were turned away, either in diſgrace, or by removing them to other places which were unworthy of them. The Mimicks repreſented him, as a Burdaſh, for which he preſently baniſhed them. He quitted the War which his Father had almoſt finiſhed, and granted to the Enemy every thing that they deſired, and then came to *Rome*; where when he triumphed, he had one *Soaterus* in the Chariot with him at his back, to whom he many times turned about, and kiſſed him publickly; and ſo he did in the Cirque. In the Evenings he gave himſelf the Liberty to run up and down to the Taverns and the Bawdy-houſes; he made Men Governours of the Provinces, who were either the Companions of his Crimes, or recommended by as ill as thoſe that were; which brought him ſo much on the one hand into the hatred, and on the other into the contempt

tempt of the Senate, that he ſet himſelf in Revenge upon the deſtruction of that great Order.

In fine, the Cruelty of *Commodus* was a thing that moved *Quadratus* and *Lucilla* to enter into a Conſpiracy to kill him, not without the privity of *Tarruntinus Paternus* the Captain of the Guards. The care of giving him the fatal Blow, was committed to *Claudius Pompeianus* his Kinſman; who going in to him with a Ponyard, prepared for that purpoſe, as he had his Opportunity to ſtrike, he broke out firſt into theſe Words, *The Senate ſends you this*; whereby detecting his Deſign too ſoon, he failed to accompliſh it, the Company taking the Part of *Commodus*. Upon this in the firſt place, *Pompeianus* and *Quadratus*, were put to Death; then *Norbana*, and *Norbanus*, with *Paralius* and his Mother; and *Lucilla* was baniſhed. Another Reaſon of *Commodus* his falling into ſo great an odium, being upon the Account of *Saoterus*, whoſe Power the People of *Rome* could not brook; the Captains of the Guards very civilly drew this Man out of the Court, under the colour of going to aſſiſt at ſome Sacrifice, and as he was returning back again, their Spies (that they had ſet) fell upon him, and killed him. This was worſe taken by *Commodus*, than the Conſpiracy that had been form'd againſt himſelf; and looking upon *Tarruntinus Paternus* to be the Author of it, as he was, and privy alſo to the intended Aſſaſſination of his own Perſon, he firſt removed him from his Place and Power of Cap-

A Conſpiracy againſt him defeated.

tain of the Guards, by the way of doing him the Honour to make him a Senatour, (becauſe theſe two Places were then inconſiſtent with one another) and in a few days after, he charged him, not only with the ſaid Conſpiracy, but with promiſing his Daughter in marriage to the Son of *Julianus*, in order as he pretended, that the Empire ſhould be tranſferred upon *Julianus*. So both *Paternus*, and *Julianus*, and *Vitruvius Secundus*, who was a particular Friend of *Paternus*, and who was one of the Secretaries to *Commodus*, were put to Death. All the Houſe of the *Quintilii* were extinguiſhed, except *Sextus* the Son of *Condianus Quintilius* who paſſed under the notion of being dead. *Vitraſia Fauſtina*, *Velius Rufus*, and *Egnatius Capito* were put to Death; the latter of which had been a Conſul. The Conſuls *Æmilius Junctus*, and *Attilius Severus* were baniſhed, and many others were ſeverely treated in divers ways.

His cruel Severity.

Commodus did not ſo eaſily appear after this in Publick, nor ſuffer himſelf to be ſpoken with upon any Buſineſs, but what was firſt referred to *Perennis*; who knowing very well the Inclinations of his Maſter, took the Opportunity which was now in his hands, to aggrandize his own Perſon. He perſuaded *Commodus*, that he had nothing to do, but to purſue his Pleaſures, while he took care of the Affairs of the State, to which *Commodus* conſented without Difficulty. So *Commodus* living with his Three Hundred Concubines, of the handſomeſt he could get of the Ladies and

Perennis governs all.

and the Miſtreſſes of the Town, and with Three Hundred other *Bardaccio's* which he had collected indifferently out of the Plebeians and the Gentry by their Beauties, paſſed his time in Revels, and in Feaſts, and the Baths; ſometimes he butchered the Sacrifices himſelf, in the ſtead of the Sacrificator, whoſe Office that was; ſometimes he fought upon the publick Stage with the Gladiators at Foils, and ſometimes at home with own Servants at ſharps. *Perennis* was the Miniſter in the mean time that did every thing. Whom he would, he put to Death; others he plundered. He ſubverted all the Laws, and whatever he took, he put it into his own Pocket. As for *Commodus*, he firſt raviſhed, and then killed his Siſter *Lucilla*. He violated in like manner the reſt of his own Siſters, and lay with a Couſin-German of his Fathers, and gave the Names of his Mother and of his own Wife to one of his Concubines; which Lady he afterwards taking great with another Man, he turned her off, baniſhed her, and then killed her. Yet he hath other times commanded his own Concubines to be enjoyed by others in his ſight; nor was he without the moſt ſcandalous uſe of Boys. He corrupted himſelf with both the Sexes, in every part of his Body, even to his Mouth. *Claudius Pompeianus*, whoſe Son had gone into the Chamber to him with the Poinyard, was ſet upon, as if it were by Thieves at this time, and killed. Many other Senators were, without Law or Judgment upon them, executed, and ſome rich Ladies. O-

His Inceſts.

thers in the Provinces were for their Riches, firſt falſly accuſed, then plundered or killed. And if they wanted a Crime to faſten upon them, it was enough to ſay, that they had refuſed to aſſign the Inheritance of their Eſtates to the Emperor.

The Affairs of *Sarmatia* about this time paſſed very well, which *Perennis* attributed to the Conduct of his Son there, when indeed the Honour of it was due to the other Commanders. But at laſt this *Perennis*, who was ſo Omnipotent in the Government, having diſplaced ſome Senatours to put in others who were of the Equeſtrian Order, to command in the Army that ſerved in the War in *Great Britain*; and the thing being remonſtrated againſt by their Deputies, he was on a ſudden declared an Enemy of the Army, and delivered up to be torn in pieces by the Soldiers; and *Cleander*, one of the Officers of the Bed-Chamber, was appointed to ſucceed in his place. Then after the Death of *Perennis* and his Son, who was alſo killed, *Commodus* reſcinded ſeveral of his Acts, as if they had not been done by his Order, and as if he was reeſtabliſhing all things in their firſt Eſtate. But he could not hold on this ſhew and pretence of Repentance above Thirty Days; committing worſe things afterwards by the Miniſtry of *Cleander*, than he had before by that of *Perennis*. It was in his Miniſtry only that *Cleander* had ſucceeded to *Perennis*. For as for his Place of Captain of the Guards, *Niger* had that, and poſſeſſed it, they ſay, but ſix

Perennis *ſlain.*

Cleander *ſucceeds in his Miniſtry.*

ſix hours. For the Captains of the Guards were changed daily and hourly; *Commodus* carrying himſelf in every thing now, worſe than he had done before. *Martius Quartus* was Captain of the Guards five Days; the reſt that followed after him, were either retained or put to Death at the Pleaſure of *Cleander*; by whoſe Authority, manumitted Slaves were brought into the Senate, and made Patricians. We had then Five and Twenty Conſuls in One Year, which was never known before. The Governments of all the Provinces were ſold. For *Cleander* made a Sale of every thing for Money. He re-called what Exiles he pleaſed, and put them into Offices, and reſcinded the Acts of the Courts. He prevailed ſo much over the Weakneſs of *Commodus*, that when *Byrrhus*, who was *Commodus*'s Siſter's Husband, took the Liberty to blame his Miniſtry, and to tell *Commodus* what had been done, he made no more, but charged him with High-Treaſon in Revenge for it, upon which he put him to Death, and many others with him, who had ſtood in the Defence of him. Amongſt the reſt was *Abutianus* the Captain of the Guards, in whoſe place *Cleander* himſelf ſucceeded in Conjunction with Two others of his own nomination; which was the firſt time that there were Three Captains of the Guards together, and one of thoſe was a late Slave made free.

But at length *Cleander* alſo met with that end that his Life deſerved. For having by Treachery, and upon falſe Accuſations, con-

demned and put to Death *Arrius Antoninus*, the Proconſul of *Aſia*, in favour of *Atallus*, at which the People were ſo incenſed, that *Commodus* could not ſuſtain the Envy that it had brought upon him; he was delivered up as a Sacrifice to the People, and *Apolauſtus* and others of his Creatures about the Court, were killed with him. Amongſt other things that he had done, he gave himſelf the Liberty to uſe his Maſter's own Concubines, by whom he had Children, who after his Death were killed, together with their Mothers. His Succeſſours were *Julianius* and *Regillus*, who were afterwards alſo killed by *Commodus*. The ſame Fate befel *Servilius* and *Duillius*, with all that belonged to them. Then he killed *Antius Lupus*, *Petronius Mamertinus*, *Suras*, and *Antoninus*, who was his Siſter's Son by *Mamertinus*. Then he put to Death ſix others at once, who had all been Conſuls, to wit, *Allius Fuſcus*, *Celius Felix*, *Luceius Torquatus*, *Lartius Euripianus*, *Valerius Baſſianus*, and *Pactumeius Magnus*, together with all thoſe that belonged to them. In *Aſia* he put to Death *Sulpitius Craſſus*, the Proconſul; *Julius Proculus*, and *Claudius Lucanus*, a Conſul. He put to Death *Fauſtina Annia*, his Father's Couſin German in *Achaia*, and an infinite Number of others. He had marked out Fourteen others ready for the Slaughter, then when his own time came, and when the *Roman* Empire with all its Power was no longer able to ſuſtain his Weight.

Cleander *ſlain.*

Now

Now whilſt theſe things paſt, the Senate in ſecret Deriſion of him, upon his making his Mother's Gallant a Conſul, called him the *Pious Commodus*; and when he had cut off *Perennis*, they called him the *Happy Commodus*. So this Pious, this Happy *Commodus*, to add to the many Murders that he had committed daily, as if he was a New *Sylla*, contrived and invented a Plot upon himſelf, for an occaſion ſtill of Murdering more. By flattery they ſtiled him likewiſe, *Conquerour of the* Britains, when the *Britains* would have ſet up an Emperor againſt him. They called him the *Roman Hercules*, becauſe he had ſlain Wild Beaſts in the Amphitheatre at *Lavinia*; which was a common Exploit with him. He arrived to that degree of Vanity, that he would have the City of *Rome* to be called the Colony of *Commodus*; which was a thing that he was put upon amidſt his Gallantries with *Martia* his Miſtreſs. He drove in Perſon the Chariots in the Races in the Cirque. He appeared in publick in a *Dalmatick*, which is an effeminate Habit, and gave the Signal to the Chariots to ſtart. When he ſignified his Pleaſure to the Senate about New Naming the City of *Rome*, *Colonia Commodiana*, they pretended, not only willingly to accept the Propoſition, but called by deriſion their own Aſſembly, *the Houſe of* Commodus, and him nothing leſs than a *Hercules* and a God.

Commodus *flatter'd by the Senate.*

He once pretended, that he would make a Voyage into *Africa*; but it was for no other end, than under that pretence, he might exact Money

Money for his Charges, as he did, and ſpent it when he had done, in Feaſting and Gaming. He poyſoned *Motilenus*, a Captain of the Guards with a Fig. He had his Statues ſet up in the Habit of a *Hercules*, and they ſacrificed to him as to a God. He obſerved the Sacrifices of *Iſis*, inſomuch, that he ſhaved his Head, and bore the Image of *Anubis* upon his Shoulders about the City. He obliged the Prieſts of *Bellona*, out of a Spirit of cruelty, really, to cut and ſlaſh their Arms; and the Prieſts of *Iſis*, to beat their Breaſts with Pines, in earneſt, till they had almoſt killed themſelves. As he aſſiſted at the carrying about of the Image of *Anubis*, he diverted himſelf with giving the Prieſts now and then, a good knock with the Head of it. Old Men that were lame and weak that they could not walk, he took, and dreſſed them up ſo, that with the Clouts and Patches which he put about them, they looked like ſo many Dragons, and then he made it his Sport to ſhoot them through with Darts. He polluted the Sacrifices of the Sun with real Homicides; whereas what at other times is uſed to be ſaid or acted there of that kind, is only a Matter of Shew.

His ſtrange Pranks.

From an Infant, he was ravenous and diſſolute; he debauched all ſorts of Perſons that came about him; and if any dared to deride him, he caſt them to the Wild Beaſts. He did this to one who had but read to him the Life of *Caligula* out of *Suetonius*, becauſe it appeared, that he and *Caligula* were born upon the ſame day. If any one had happened to ſay, *Would I was dead*, he put him to death at his word, whether

whether he would or no. He was a pernicious Man in his Jeſts. He ſlaſhed open a fat Man croſs the Belly, for the Curioſity to ſee in an inſtant his great Guts. When he had cut off a Leg of any one, he ſaid, *He was now of the Nation of the* Monopodii; and when he had cut out an Eye, he called him *Luſcinium* (a Nightingal) by an alluſion to the word *Luſcus*, which ſignifies one-eyed. He murdered many in a way of gayety in places up and down; ſometimes becauſe he met them ill dreſſed, ſometimes on the contrary, becauſe they lookt noble and handſome. He was pleaſed with Men of obſcene Names, and often kiſſed them. He had one Man with him called *Onon*, who exceeding in a private Part, the meaſure of almoſt any Animal, he was extremely dear and kind to him, and preferred him to be the Ruler over the Prieſts of *Hercules Ruſticus*.

With humane ordure it is ſaid, he defiled often his beſt Diſhes of Meat, and then pleaſed himſelf in drawing in the Company to eat of them. He puſht *Juliamus* a Captain of the Guards, into a Pond in his Cloaths, as he was waiting; and at another time he commanded him to Dance naked before his Concubines, playing upon a Cymbal, with his Face disfigured. He ſeldom was without all ſorts of Beans, Peaſe and Pulſe-meats at his Table, for the benefit of their provocativeneſs. He bathed ſeven or eight times a day, and ſometimes eat in the very Baths. He polluted the Temples of the Gods with Whoredoms, and Murders; ſometimes he pretended to play the Surgeon, and

to

to let Blood: but then he cut off an Ear, or a Noſe, with the Inſtruments. The Months of the Year were new-named by his Flatterers, according as he was pleaſed to have them. *Auguſt* was called *Commodus*, *September* was called *Auguſt*, *October* was called *Hercules*, *November* was called *Invincible*, *December* was called *Exuperatorius*, and *January Amazonius*: which laſt Title was one that was occaſioned by his Concubine *Martia*; whom he fell in love with, by ſeeing her pictured in the dreſs of an *Amazon*; for which reaſon he ſometimes alſo appear'd in the Amphitheatre himſelf in an *Amazonian* Dreſs. He entred the Liſts with the Gladiators, and hath been as much pleas'd to be huzza'd by the Mob upon thoſe times, as if he had received a Triumph. He practiſed the Weapons in the Common-School, where the Gladiators learn them. Every time that he Fought he ordered it to be entred upon the Publick Records; and in all, it is ſaid, he Fought ſeven hundred and thirty five times.

He was created the *Cæſar*, the fourth of the Ides of *October*, under the Conſulſhips of *Pudens* and *Pollio*. He received the honour of the Title of Conqueror of the *Germans* upon the ſame Ides, in the Conſulſhips of *Maximus* and *Orphitus*. He paſt into the Colleges of the Prieſts upon the thirteenth of the Calends of *November*; when *Piſo* and *Julianus* were Conſuls. He went into *Germany*, the 14. of the Calends of *June* (which Month he afterwards called *Ælius*) under the Conſulſhips of

of the ſame Perſons. He put on the *Roman* Gown, and was declared Emperor in Conjunction with his Father, the fifth of the Calends of *December*, when *Pollio* and *Aper* were Conſuls, which was then the ſecond Conſulſhip of *Pollio*. He triumphed upon the tenth of the Calends of *January*, the ſame Perſons being Conſuls. He went his ſecond Journey into *Germany*, the third of the Nones of *Auguſt*, when *Orphitus* and *Ruffus* were Conſuls. And as he was thinking upon a third Expedition, the Senate and the People of *Rome* detained him from it. Together with theſe things, it is upon Record, that he fought in Publick before his Father died, three hundred ſixty and five times. He did it again ſo often afterwards, and ſtill with ſucceſs, that he ſubſcribed himſelf the *Conqueror of a thouſand Gladiators*. He killed many Thouſands of wild Beaſts of divers ſorts with his own hand, amongſt the reſt Elephants; and this he did often, in the ſight of all the People of *Rome*.

His great Strength.

In all theſe things as vigorous as he was, he had yet a Rupture in his *Scrotum*, ſo large that one might diſcern it through his Silks. Many Verſes were made upon him, which *Marius Maximus* hath Collected with care. His ſtrength in killing the wild Beaſts was ſuch, that at once he hath ſtruck an Elephant thro' with his Spear, and pierced the Horn of a wild Goat with his Lance, and killed thouſands of great wild Beaſts, one after another, at a blow. He came to the Theatre and Amphitheatre often in Women's Cloaths, in which he

he impudently called for Wine, and drank in the ſight of all the Company. It was thus that he paſt his time, whilſt his Lieutenants abroad overcame the *Moors* and the *Dacæ*, and compoſed the Troubles of *Pannonia*. For the Provinces of *Great Britain*, *Germany* and *Dacia*, had endeavoured to reject the Yoak of his Empire: but his Lieutenants quieted them.

His Negligence. He did not care to trouble himſelf ſo much as to ſubſcribe his Diſpatches. In many of which he uſed the ſame form; and in ſeveral of his Letters all that he writ was the word *Farewel*.

By this ſort of Negligence, and with that waſte of Proviſions together, which was made by thoſe who were in Power under him, there aroſe a great ſcarcity at *Rome*, in a year that was not itſelf unfruitful. So upon this, he put ſeveral that had made that waſte, to Death, and Confiſcated their Eſtates. Then he leſſened the Prices of things; but that made the Scarcity ſtill greater. Many in his time bought off another's Puniſhment, and purchaſed their own ſafety with Money. He made Money by Commutations of one Puniſhment for another, and by the Sepultures of the dead, and by putting to death ſome in others ſteads. He ſold the Governments of the Provinces: part of the Money going to thoſe by whom he ſold them, and part to himſelf: He ſold to ſome Perſons the Maſſacre of thoſe they hated: and by his example, his Servants made a Sale of the Juſtice of the Courts. He did not long continue either *Paternus* or *Perennis*, Captains

Captains of the Guards. Neither did any of their Succeſſors, keep in ſo long as three entire years under him: becauſe he diſpatched them either with Poyſon, or the Sword: and with the ſame facility he chang'd the Governors of the City of *Rome*.

He made nothing of putting to death the Officers of his Houſhold, though they were Men who had been uſed to adviſe him in all things. One of them, by name *Electus* or *Ælius Lætus*, perceiving this, reſolved to be before Hand with him, and ſo engaged with the Party that Conſpired to his death. Beſides, he had this Cuſtom with him, that every thing he did, though never ſo Baſe, Impure, Cruel, Gladiator, or Pimp-like, he order'd it to be entred upon the Records of the City. One day fighting as a Gladiator, and fancying that the People derided him, he had given Orders to Maſſacre them all upon the place, and burn the City: which had been Executed but that the Captain of the Guards deterred him from it. He hath been called ſix hundred times by the name of *Patus*, that is, the name of the Chief of the Gladiators; and triumphed in it.

The Prodigies that attended his Reign, whether Publick or Private ones, were theſe. A Comet appear'd. The Statues of the Gods in the *Forum* moved their Feet, as if they had a mind to be gone. An exceſſive heat of Weather. On the Calends of *January* a great darkneſs on a ſudden covered the Cirque. Ominous Birds came in the night. He removed

Prodigies in his Reign.

moved out of the Palace; becauſe, he ſaid, he could not poſſibly ſleep there, unto a Houſe upon Mount *Cælius*. The Temple of *Janus* opened of it ſelf, and the Marble Image of *Anubis* appeared to move. The Brazen Statue of *Hercules*, which is at one of the Gates of *Rome*, Sweat for ſeveral days. An Owl appeared over his Bed-chamber, both at *Rome* and at *Lavinia*. He obliged Perſons to come to the Games of the Gladiators, not in their Gowns, but in ſuch other Coats as they ordinarily were at Funerals, and preſided at them himſelf dreſſed in Black. His Helmet fell off of his Head twice at the Gate called the Gate of Death, through which the dead are carried out of the City.

At length, although too too late, *Quintus Ælius Lætus* the Captain of the Guards, and *Martia*, one of the Concubines of *Commodus*, entred upon a Conſpiracy to kill him. They *He is ſlain.* firſt gave him Poyſon; but that operating ineffectually, they ſtrangled him by the Hands of one with whom he was uſed to Wreſtle for Exerciſe.

His Perſonage. He was of a juſt ſize and ſhape of Body, a heavy ſottiſh ſort of a Look, no fine Diſcourſe, yellow Hair, which he uſed Art with to make it ſtill yellower: his Beard he took off himſelf, for fear of truſting to a Barber. Both the Senate and the People deſir'd to have him drag'd, and thrown into the *Tyber*: but *Pertinax* buried him in the Sepulchre of *Hadrian*.

There

There are no Works of his extant, beſides the Baths, which *Cleander* built in his name. He did not ſo much as perfect thoſe of his Father. Where he had cut his own name upon the Works of others, the Senate eraſed it again. He ſet up a Corn-fleet to *Carthage*, to be for a relief, in caſe that other from *Alexandria*, and the Corn from thence ſhould chance to fail: upon which he ridiculouſly called the City of *Carthage*, *Alexandria Commoda Togata*, and this Fleet of his *Commodiana Herculea*. He added ſome Ornaments to the Statue of the Sun, which were all afterwards aboliſhed. In the Place of the Head of *Nero*, he had put up his own upon the Body of it, with all his empty Titles at the bottom; not forgetting that of his Conqueſts over ſo many Gladiators, and that of *Amazonius*, which he took from his Miſtreſs. All which notwithſtanding the Emperor *Severus*, who was one that in no wiſe indeed differed from his name, made this Prince a God, out of his oppoſition, as it is ſuppoſed, to the Senate: and he appointed him the ſame Chief Prieſt, under the ſame Title, to ſerve him, that *Commodus* had provided for himſelf before he died.

He left behind him three Siſters. The ſame Emperor *Severus* ordered the Anniverſary of his Birth to be obſerved. The Imprecations of the Senate againſt him after his death were extraordinary: and becauſe it is fit to know them, I will ſet them down out of *Marius Maximus*, together with the Decree of the Senate.

The Senate's Decree upon him.

Let the Enemy of his Country be degraded of all his Honors. Let the Parricide be degraded of his Honors. Let the Parricide be dragged. An Enemy of his Country, a Parricide, a Gladiator, let him Rot upon the Dunghil. An Enemy of the Gods. A Butcherer of the Senate. An Enemy of the Gods. A Parricide of the Senate. An Enemy of the Gods. An enemy of the Senate. A Gladiator, to the Dunghil. He Murdered the Senators, throw him to the Dunghil; drag him about the Streets. He murdered the Innocent, drag him about the Streets. An Enemy, a Parricide, that ſpared not his own Blood, let him be dragged about the Streets. He who would have murdered your Majeſty, let him be dragged about the Streets Your Majeſty was in the ſame fear with us, in the ſame danger with us. Preſerve Pertinax, *thou moſt great, moſt excellent* Jupiter; *ſo we alſo ſhall be ſafe. We Congratulate the Fidelity of the Guards. We Congratulate the Prætorian Bands. We Congratulate the* Roman *Armies. We Congratulate the Piety of the Senate. Let the Parricide be dragged. We beg of your Majeſty, that the Parricide may be dragged. We beg this, that the Parricide be dragged. Hear us,* Cæſar; *the Delatours to the Lions! Hear us* Cæſar; *Delators to the Lions! Hear us* Cæſar, Speratus *to the Lions. We Congratulate the Victory of the People of* Rome. *We Congratulate the Fidelity of the Soldiers. We Congratulate the Fidelity of the Guards. We Congratulate the Prætorian Bands. Down every where with the Enemies Statues. Down every where with the Parricide's Statues. Down every where with the Gladi-*

Gladiator's Statues. Down with the Statues of the Gladiator and the Parricide. Let the Murderer of his People be dragged. Let the Parricide of his People be dragged. Down with the Statues of the Gladiator. Under your Majesty we are safe. Now we are Free; now we are Secure; and the Delators in fear. Let the Delators be ever in fear, and we in safety: Degrade them, Cudgel them, cast them to the Lioni, Cudgel them to death.

Let the memory of the Parricide, the Gladiator, be abolished. Let the Statues of the Parricide, the Gladiator, be taken down. Let the memory of the filthy Gladiator be abolished. The Gladiator, to the Dunghil. Hear, Cæsar, *let the Murtherer be dragged about the Streets. Let the Murtherer of the Senate be dragged about the Streets, after the manner of old. He who was Crueller than* Domitian, *and Filthier than* Nero; *thus did, thus let him suffer. Let the Memories of the Innocent be preserved with Honor. We beseech your Majesty, restore the Honors of the Innocent. Let the Carcase of the Parricide be dragged about the Streets. Let the dead Body of the Gladiator be dragged about the Streets. Let the Carcase of the Gladiator be thrown upon the Dunghil. Ask, ask us all, if we do not all Judge him to be dragged about the Streets. He who Murdered all sorts of Persons, let him be dragged about the Streets: that spared no Age, let him be dragged about the Streets, that spared no Sex, let him be dragged about the Streets: that spared not his own Blood, let him be dragged about the Streets. He who Plundered the*

Temples, let him be dragged about the Streets: that aboliſhed the laſt Teſtaments of the dead, let him be dragged about the Streets: that robbed the living, let him be dragged about the Streets. We have been Slaves to his Slaves: He who ſold the Lives of his People, let him be dragged about the Streets: that took the Money, and yet kept not his faith, let him be dragged about the Streets. He who ſold the Senate, let him be dragged about the Streets: that deprived Children of the Inheritance of their Fathers, let him be dragged about the Streets: Delators, Informers, Suborners of falſe Witneſſes, be for ever baniſhed the Senate. Even your Majeſty hath been in the ſame fear with us. You know all things. You have ſeen the good, and the bad. You know all things. Amend all things. We have been in fear for you. O happy we in your Life and Reign! This about the Parricide, is the Advice, the Judgment, the Decree of us all round. We beg your Preſence among us. The Innocent lye unburied; let the Carcaſe of the Parricide be dragged. The Parricide hath pulled the very Dead out of their Graves, let the Carcaſe of the Parricide be dragged.

But the Body of *Commodus* being however by *Livius Larenſis* his Servant, delivered into the hands of *Fabius Chilo*, the Conſul, it was privately buried in the night by the order of *Pertinax*. Hereupon the Senate exclaimed, *By whoſe doing is this, that he is Buried? Let the Parricide be taken up again out of the place where he is, and be dragged.* Then *Cincius Severus* ſaid, *He is Buried againſt Law: as I ſay this, as a High-Prieſt, the whole College of*

the

the Prieſts ſays the ſame: And I am further obliged to declare and pronounce, That as he lived to the deſtruction of the People and his own ſhame, his Statues are every where to be deſtroyed, deſtroyed: His Name to be eraſed out of all the publick and private Monuments, and the Months of the Year to return to be called by the old Names they had, when firſt this Peſt befel the State.

A. Chriſti CXCIV.

THE Life and Reign OF THE EMPEROR *Publius Helvius Pertinax.*

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

His Extraction.

Publius Helvius Pertinax was the Son of *Helvius Succeſſus*, who was the Son of a late Slave made free. He had the Name of *Pertinax* given him by his Father, from nothing but his wilful and pertinacious adherence for a long time, to the poor Occupation of his Father, which was drying and burning of Wood, and making of Charcoal. He was born in a Village in the *Apennine*; and at the ſame time, an Accident happened at his Birth, which moved his Father

to

to go to an Aſtrologer to enquire about his Fortune; who telling him ſuch great and ſuch extraordinary things of him, as were paſt his belief, he ſaid, he had but flung away his Money in conſulting him. After he had begun to take to Letters, and had ſtudied Arithmetick and Greek, and was put into the hands of *Sulpitius Apollinaris*, he came to be a Profeſſor of Grammar himſelf. But making but little Advantage by it, he changed that courſe of Life, and by the means of *Lollius Avitus*, who was his Father's Patron, and had been a Conſul, he got himſelf made a Centurion. Then he roſe to be a Captain of a Cohort in *Syria*, which is a Body of Foot of, it may be, Six Hundred Men; and going Poſt into *Syria* in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, without the Authority of the Emperor's Letters ſo to do, the Preſident of *Syria* obliged him to follow the reſt of his Journey, to his Command, on Foot, as far as from the City of *Antioch*.

His publick Employments.

He deſerved very well by his Services in the *Parthian* War, which made him be tranſlated into *Bithynia*. Then he commanded a Part of the Army in *Mœſia*, and afterwards in *Germany*, where his Mother who had followed him thither died, and her Sepulchre is ſaid to be ſtanding at this day. From *Germany* he was removed to be the Governour of *Dacia*, with a Salary of Two Hundred *Seſtertium*'s; but the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, being made to ſuſpect him as one that was ambitious of the Empire, he was re called from that Govern-

ment, and was afterwards choſen by *Claudius Pompeianus*, the Son-in-Law of *Marcus Antoninus*, to be his Aſſiſtant in the Command of the Auxiliaries. He behaved himſelf ſo well, that he was created in the next place a Senator. And his Innocency appearing, as to the Ambition of which before he was maliciouſly accuſed, for a compenſation of that Injury done him, the Emperor made him a Prætor, and gave him the Command of the Firſt Legion; by the means whereof, he preſently recovered *Rhætia*, and the Country of *Noricum* from the Enemy. This was ſo Eminent a Service, that the Emperor made him a Conſul; who very often in publick in his Speeches, which it would be too long here to inſert, but one of them is extant in *Marius Maximus*, commended him both to the Soldiers and the Senate, and expreſſed himſelf before all the World, ſorry, that he could not make him a Captain of the Guards, becauſe of his being a Senator. After the Rebellion of *Caſſius* was at an end, *Pertinax* was commanded out of *Syria*, to the Defence of the *Danube*. Next he was made Governour of both the *Mœſia*'s, and then of *Dacia*; and from his well managing of thoſe Provinces, he gained the Government of *Syria*.

Hitherto, that is, to his Government of *Syria*, he had conducted himſelf, in a manner that was altogether unblameable. But after the Death of *Marcus Antoninus*, he ſtrangely applied his Care to the amaſſing of Money; which failed not to bring upon him the Reproaches

proaches of the People. He came a very rich Man into the Senate; where he firſt appeared to take his place in Perſon, in the time of *Commodus*, after he had been the Governour of Four Conſular Provinces, and had had the Honour of a Conſulſhip given him in his abſence. But it was not long before *Perennis*, the great Miniſter under that Prince, baniſhed him, and commanded him to retire to the Village, in the State of *Genoa*, where his Father had kept his Charcoal-Kiln. So he came, and being there, he bought himſelf a great quantity of Land, and ſurrounded his Father's Kiln, which he left ſtanding in the ſame Form as it was before, with an infinite company of fine Buildings. He reſided there three whole Years, in which he paſt his time in his old Trade, which he carried on by his Servants. After *Perennis* was kill'd, *Commodus* took *Pertinax* into Favour, and ordered him to go into *Great Britain*. He went, and repreſſed the Mutiny of the Forces there, who were for ſetting up a New Emperor. They would have ſet up even *Pertinax* himſelf. Nor was it without much difficulty that he appeaſed their Seditions. He was almoſt killed in one of them, at leaſt he was left among the dead; which he ſeverely reſented and puniſhed. Then he deſired leave to be re-called, becauſe he ſaid his Diſcipline amongſt them had made the Army averſe to him. So another Perſon being appointed to ſucceed him, he was firſt made General of the Proviſions, and ſoon after the Proconſul of *Africa*.

During

During his Proconſulſhip of *Africa*, he was, they ſay, troubled with ſeveral Seditions there alſo, occaſioned by the pretended Propheſies of the Goddeſs *Cæleſtis* at *Carthage*. Then he was made the Governour of the City of *Rome*, in which place ſucceeding *Fuſcianus*, who was a moſt ſevere Man, and he behaving himſelf on the contrary with the greateſt mildneſs and humanity, he pleaſed every one, and amongſt the reſt, *Commodus* ſo well, that he took him to be Conſul in Conjunction with himſelf; which was then the Seventh time of the Conſulſhip of *Commodus*. Then came on the Conſpiracy to kill *Commodus*, which *Pertinax* did not reject, when made acquainted with it; and the thing being done, the Captain of the Guards, and *Electus* a great Officer of the Houſhold, came to him, and ſet him up for the Empire, and carried him to the Camp. *Pertinax* harangued the Soldiers, and promiſed them a Donative. He told them, how that thoſe Two great Officers had thought him a Perſon, not unworthy to be propoſed for the Empire, ſince *Commodus* was dead; not ſaying, that *Commodus* was killed, but that he was dead of a Sickneſs only. In fine, *Pertinax* was ſaluted Emperor at the firſt but by a few. This was the day before the Calends of *January*; and he was then above Sixty Years of Age. After this, late that Night, he came from the Camp to the Senate; and the Chappel of the Senate not being ready opened for him, he went into the Temple of *Concord*; where *Claudius Pompeianus*, the Son-in-Law

He is made Conſul,

And declared Emperor.

Law of *Marcus Antoninus* meeting him, and Complementing him, *Pertinax* would have perſuaded him, to have taken upon him the Empire; but he refuſed it, becauſe he ſaw that *Pertinax* was already the Man. Immediately all the Magiſtracy with the Conſuls came to the Senate, and as ſoon as they were entred, they declared *Pertinax* Emperor, tho' it was then midnight.

After the Conſuls had ſet forth his Praiſes in ſuch Speeches as the occaſion required, and that the Senate had alſo ended their Imprecations againſt the Memory of *Commodus*, *Pertinax* returned his Solemn Thanks to them. He returned his Thanks particularly to the Captain of the Guards, by whoſe means it was, both that *Commodus* was cut off, and that himſelf was raiſed to be Emperor: And tho' it was true, he ſaid, as *Falſo* objected, that the ſaid Captain of the Guards, and *Martia* together, had been the Inſtruments of many of the wicked Deeds of *Commodus*, yet he told them, that they were to conſider the Neceſſity there was of obeying the Orders of that Prince; for otherwiſe, what they had done was againſt their own Inclination. The ſame day, his Wife *Flavia Titiana* was declared Empreſs. He was the firſt Emperor that ever received the Title of Father of his Country, together with the Proconſular, and the Tribunitian Powers, and the Right of a fourth Reference, the firſt day of his Reign. Which thick and ſudden accumulation of ſo many Honours, was lookt upon as an Omen but of a ſhort Reign.

Then

Then he went to the Palace, which was void, becauſe *Commodus* had been killed in a Houſe upon Mount *Cælius*, and the Tribune coming to him the firſt day for the Watch-word, his Word was, *Militemus*, let us Fight; which was the ſame indeed that he had given before under all his Adminiſtrations; but upbraiding by it, as it ſeemed, the remiſſneſs of the times paſt, the Soldiers were touched to the Quick, and preſently thought of changing the Emperor again.

The ſame day, being the firſt of the New Year, he invited the Magiſtrates, and the Chief of the Senate to a Banquet, which was an antient Cuſtom that had been however omitted by *Commodus*. The next day as the Statues of *Commodus* were thrown down, the Soldiers appeared to be troubled, and ſo much the more, becauſe *Pertinax* had given them again the ſame Word as before; and War was a thing not to be admitted, they thought, under an Emperor ſo old as he. Upon the Third of the Nones following, tho' it was the Thankſgiving Day for his acceſſion to the Empire, they would have drawn *Triarius Maternus Laſcivius*, a Noble Senator, into the Camp, to have ſet up him to be Emperor; but he refuſed it, and eſcaped from them, and came to the Court to *Pertinax*, to aſſure him of his Fidelity, and afterwards withdrew out of the Town. In the mean time, all this obliged *Pertinax* in fear, to confirm to the Soldiers and the *Veterans*, all the Pay, and all the Gifts that had been granted them by *Commodus*. He

alſo

alſo courted the Senate, and owned himſelf to receive the Empire at their Hands. He aſſured them under his Oath of his innocency from having had any hand in the malverſaſation of the laſt Reign. He re-called ſuch as were in Baniſhment, and reſtored the Memories of others to their Honour, who had been unjuſtly put to Death. The Senate conferred the Title of *Cæſar* upon his Son: But as he had not yet approved the Honour which they had ſhewn to his Wife, ſo as to this of his Son; he ſaid, *Let it be when he deſerves it.* And whereas *Commodus* had added by his Authority many Perſons to the Order of the Prætors, who had never exerciſed the Office of a Prætor, and yet he allowed them to take their Places in common with thoſe that had; *Pertinax* paſſed an Edict as to this, to command, that thoſe who had never exerciſed the Office of a Prætor, but had received that Honour only by the Creation of *Commodus*, ſhould give place to ſuch as had been Prætors indeed; which brought an odium from many upon him.

His publick Ordinances.

He ordered the publick Account of the Eſtates, and the valuation of all Perſons to be over-look'd, and ſtated a-new. He ordered ſevere Puniſhments to be taken upon Perſons that had informed againſt others falſly. But yet he was not altogether ſo ſevere, as his Predeceſſors, with Relation to Perſons of Quality, who were brought before him for any Crime. He made a Law, for the firſt Will always to ſtand good, until another that is Poſterior

ſterior to it is eſtabliſhed and received in due Form in its ſtead. He declared, that as for himſelf, he would never enter upon any Inheritance, which either was devoted to him in Flattery, or by any litigious Right, or to the prejudice of the Lawful Heirs; uſing theſe Words upon the ſame occaſion, *It is better, Fathers of the Senate, that the Crown ſhould be poor, than that it ſhould get never ſo much Riches by ill means, and diſhonourable Actions.* The Largeſſes to the Soldiers and the People, which himſelf, and alſo *Commodus* had promiſed them, he paid. But yet the Exchequer was ſo extremely low at his coming to the Crown, that he declared, he had not found in it above Ten *Seſtertiums*; ſo that this obliged him to exact ſome Payments which *Commodus* had impoſed, although he had before promiſed to remit them. *Lollianus Gentianus* a Conſul, asking him therefore why he broke his Word, he told, him the Reaſon was, *Neceſſity*. He made an Auction of the Goods belonging to *Commodus*; ordered his very Bardaccio's and Concubines to be ſold, excepting ſuch of them, as appeared to have been retained in the Court by him by violence. And of thoſe which were ſold, there were many that afterwards redeemed their Fortunes, and under other Princes arrived as high as to be Senators. The Buffoons and Jeſters of *Commodus*, ſuch as were Men of obſcene Names, he ſold, and of the Money that he made of this Negotiation, which was a great deal, he gave a Bounty to the Soldiers. He exacted alſo from the Servants of *Commodus*,

modus, an Account of all things that their Maſter had laviſhly given them, to enrich them.

Auction of Commodus's *Goods.*

The moſt principal Things in the Auction of the Goods of *Commodus* were theſe, Garments of Cloth of Gold, Tunicks, Cloaks, Hanging-Coats, Dalmaticks, Fringed Veſts, Coats of Mail, and others of other ſorts; Arms for the Exerciſes of the Gladiators, enrich'd with Jewels and Gold, vaſt Herculean Swords; Collars for the Gladiators; Veſſels of fine Gold, Ivory, Silver and Citron; Drinking-Veſſels, which were ſome of them of obſcene Figures; other Veſſels belonging to the Arts of the Gladiators; Chariots of a rare Invention, with the Seats to turn ſo, as either to decline the Sun, or take in the Air, as you pleaſe; with other things to meaſure the Way, and ſhew the Hour; and whatever elſe was agreeable to the Pleaſures of that Prince in all ſorts of Vices.

As for ſuch Servants as had been taken out of private Houſes into the Court, *Pertinax* reſtored back thoſe to their proper Maſters. He reduced the Table, and cut off all the prodigious Expences of *Commodus*. He contented himſelf with a little, and the Example of his Frugality was of great effect upon all things. In fine, he reduced the Expence of the Houſhold of the Emperor, to a Moiety of what it was accuſtomed to be before.

He appointed certain Recompences for the Soldiers that acquitted themſelves with Honour. The Debts that he contracted on the firſt occaſions of his Reign, he diſcharged. He

reſtored

reſtored the Credit of the Exchequer. He ſet a-part a Sum for Publick Works. He gave Money for the Reparation of the High-ways. He paid a great many Soldiers that had ſerved well, their Arrears. He put the Exchequer, in a word, in a Condition to diſcharge its Debts. But whereas there was due to the Alms-Children of *Trajan*'s Eſtabliſhment, the Allowances of Nine Years, he quite ſunk that Debt, which was ſevere, and a great Reflection upon him. It is true, he was not exempt from the aſperſion of Covetouſneſs, in the time he was a private Man. He had oppreſſed with Uſury his Neighbours upon the Lake *di Sabato*, and had turned them out of their Lands, to extend further the Limits of his own. He was called really a Money-monger; and many have writ, that he did ſordid things in the Conſular Provinces which he governed; they ſay, that he ſold the Diſcharges from, and the Commands in the Army. His Parents had little or no Eſtate to leave him, and no Inheritances fell to him from others, yet he was grown a rich Man on a ſudden. He reſtored after he was Emperor, to every one, the Eſtates which were taken from them by *Commodus*, but yet he exacted a Conſideration for it. He came conſtantly to the Senate, and always reported ſome thing or other to them. He ſhew'd himſelf always gracious to all thoſe that came to pay their Reverences to him, or ask him any Favour. He diſcharged ſome from the Accuſations of their Slaves, and avenged the Death of others by crucifying their Accuſers.

Whilſt

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, *Falco* the Conſul formed a Deſign againſt him, out of an Ambition to ſet up himſelf. *Pertinax* complained in the Senate of it; but however, forgave him, and begg'd his impunity of the Senate, whereby *Falco* lived in Safety upon his Eſtate, and his Son was his Heir when he died. Many indeed ſaid in his behalf, that whatever Deſign there might have been amongſt others to make him Emperor, he knew nothing of it himſelf; and that the Slaves who were his Accuſers, did him wrong, and were corrupted, and had not agreed in their Evidence. But however it is, a worſe Faction than this was made againſt *Pertinax* by *Lætus*, the Captain of the Guards, and thoſe to whom the Sanctimonioufneſs of this Prince was offenſive. For *Lætus* had repented himſelf of his Services in having advanced him to the Crown, becauſe he had reproved his Conduct in ſome things. Nor were the Soldiers without their Reſentments, becauſe *Pertinax* had put to death ſeveral in the Buſineſs of *Falco*, upon the ſimple Depoſition of one Slave.

Therefore a Party of Three Hundred Soldiers of the Guards, well equipped, aſſaulted the Palace, and killed him. The ſame Day, no Heart was found in the Sacrifice, at which *Pertinax* had aſſiſted; and in another, no Liver. Therefore having intended to have gone that Day to the *Athenæum*, to hear the performances of a Poet; but putting it off, becauſe of the ominouſneſs of the Sacrifices; the Guards that were to attend him, had Orders to retire

Pertinax *ſlain.*

to their Camp, when on a ſudden they turned upon the Palace, from whence it was not poſſible to repel them, nor yet to give Advice to *Pertinax* of them in due time: for all the Courtiers regarded him ſo little, that they encouraged rather the Soldiers on to the Enterpriſe. So they ſurprized him, as he was giving ſome Orders about the Affairs of his Houſhold; and being come up into the Gallery, as far as to a place which is called *Sicily*, and the *Banqueting-Hall of* Jove, as ſoon as *Pertinax* knew of it, he ſent *Lætus* to them: but *Lætus* avoided them, and went another way, hiding his Face, and ſlinked Home. After they were broken in further, *Pertinax* came forth to them himſelf, and beſpoke them in a long and a grave Oration which ſweetned them: till one *Tauſius*, one of the Troop of *Tongres* that ſerved in the Guards, putting them into a new fret, darted his Javelin at *Pertinax*'s Breaſt; who then Invocating *Jupiter* the Avenger, threw his Gown over his Head, and the reſt fell upon him, and Stabbed him. *Electus* died with him, having firſt killed two of the Aſſaſſines. The other Officers of the Chamber that were about him, fled: ſome ſay that the Soldiers had broken into the Bed Chamber, and that they killed him there, hiding himſelf about the Bed.

His Perſonage. He was a Venerable old Man, with a long Beard, curling Hair, pretty Groſs, his Belly ſtanding a little out, of a Princely Stature; wanted not Eloquence, but was rather Gratious in his Words than thought Sincere. He obliged

obliged every body in Words, but in Deeds was illiberal and almoſt fordid; and particularly in his Entertainments and Preſents. He had as yet made no Change in the Officers that had been put into the Government by *Commodus*; expecting the Anniverſary of the Birth-day of the City of *Rome*, (*that is the eleventh or twelfth of the Calends of* May) becauſe he deſign'd to date from thence his beginning of all things. And therefore they ſay the Officers of the appointment of *Commodus*, who were afraid to be turned out, had reſolved to kill him in the Baths by that time, if it had not been done to their Hands before.

His Character.

Certainly Empire, and all the Honors thereunto belonging, made ſo little an impreſſion upon him, that he always ſhew'd himſelf greatly diſpleaſed with them, and he deſired to appear ſtill the ſame Man, that he had ever been. He carried himſelf to the Senate, the moſt reſpectfully in the World. When they Congratulated him, he Complemented them again, and divided his Diſcourſes to all of them, as if he was but the Governour of the City of *Rome*. He would willingly have laid down the Empire, and have return'd to a private life; and he would not ſuffer his Children to be brought up in the Court. Indeed he was ſo ſaving, and ſuch a lover of Profit, that he Trafficked at the Lake *di Sabato* by his Servants, when he was Emperor, in the ſame manner, as he did when he was a private Man. Perſons who ſpoke freely of him, ſaid, he was one that promiſed Well, but did Nothing.

thing. Thoſe of his own Country, who reſorted much to him upon his being made Emperor, obtained as good as nothing from him, and ſaid the ſame. Yet he was free to ſuffer himſelf to be preſented, with any thing to his advantage. He left a Son and a Daughter behind him; together with his Wife, who was the Daughter of *Flavius Sulpitianus*, whom he made the Governor of *Rome* in his own place. He did not much concern himſelf with the impudicity of his Wife; who in the ſight of all the World entertained for her Lover, a Muſician. On the other hand he had for his Miſtreſs, one *Cornificia*; to whoſe love they ſay he was extremely abandoned. He was extraordinary ſtrict upon the Servants about the Court: and this therefore made him be much hated by them.

Signs of his Death. The ſigns forerunning his Death were theſe. Three days before he was killed, he thought he ſaw a Man by reflexion in a Pond, making at him with a Sword. The day that he was killed, it was obſerved that the Pupils of his Eyes, as if they were dead, did not repreſent the Images of Perſons that look'd on him: and as he ſacrificed in his private Oratory, the Fire went out; and neither the Heart, nor the Liver were found in the Victims. Stars very bright, though near the Sun, appeared in the day time ſome days before. What himſelf ſaid of *Didius Julianus*, was an Omen of the ſucceſſion to him of that Perſon. For *Julianus* bringing his Kinſman, his Brother's Son to him, to whom he had promiſed to give his

his Daughter in Marriage, he adviſed the young Man to obſerve the Commands of his Uncle, for ſays he, *He is my Colleague and my Succeſſor:* For he had been his Colleague in his Conſulſhip, and had ſucceeded him in his Proconſulſhip: and at laſt he ſucceeded him in the Empire too. The Soldiers and the Courtiers both hated *Pertinax.* But the People took his death with Indignation, becauſe they ſaw he was one, who might have re-ſettled all things in the good order as they were of old. The Soldiers that had killed him, ſtuck his Head upon a Spear, and brought it through the City into the Camp. But it was retrieved again, and together with his Body buried in the Sepulchre of his Wife's Grand father, by *Julianus,* with all the honour that he could do it: only he made no publick Harangue upon him, either to the People or the Senate; but yet when afterwards it was his own fate to be in like manner deſerted, and killed, then the Senate and the People did tranſlate *Pertinax* into the number of the Gods.

Honours paid to him after.

This was done in the time of the Emperor *Severus*; when *Pertinax* having had a very great Character given him by the Senate, a Royal Funeral was ſolemnized for him, in which he was repreſented by his Effigies, and *Severus* himſelf did him the honor to make the Oration in his praiſe: loving the memory of him to that degree, that he was pleaſed to be called by the Senate by the ſame name of *Pertinax.* The Son of *Pertinax* was made the Chief Prieſt to his Father; and the Prieſts of the

Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* were appointed, as his Aſſociates. The Games of the Cirque were Celebrated for his Aſcenſion to the Empire, and the day of his Birth was kept: which laſt is remaining ſtill: but the others were afterwards laid aſide by *Severus*. He was born upon the Calends of *Auguſt*, under the Conſulſhips of *Verus* and *Bibulus*. He was killed upon the fifth of the Calends of *April*, in the Conſulſhips of *Falco* and *Clarus*. He lived ſixty ſix Years, ſeven Months, and twenty ſix Days. He Reigned two Months, and twenty ſeven days. He gave a Largeſs to the People of a hundred *Roman* Penies a Man: and he had promiſed another to the Guards of twelve thouſand Seſterces; but he gave them but the half: what he had promiſed the Army, was not given them, becauſe his death prevented him. There is a Letter of his, in the Hiſtory of his life, written by *Marius Maximus*, which I have not thought fit to inſert here, becauſe of its too great length, but which is a certain Proof, that *Pertinax* was one that had a Horror for the Station of an Emperor.

THE

A Chriſti CXCIV.

THE Life and Reign OF THE EMPEROR DIDIUS JULIANUS.

By ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS.

Addreſſed to the

EMPEROR *DIOCLESIAN.*

His Extraction.

Didius Julianus, who ſucceeded in the Empire after *Pertinax*, had for his Great Grandfather, *Salvius Julianus*; who was twice Conſul, the Governor of the City of *Rome*, and which rendred him yet the more remarkable, was that he was

a Professor of the Law. His Mother was called *Clara Æmilia*; his Father *Petronius Didius Severus*; his Brothers, *Didius Proculus* and *Nummius Albinus*; his Uncle by his Mother's side, *Salvius Julianus*; his Grandfather, by his Fathers side, an *Insubrian* of *Milan*: and his Great Grandfather by his Mothers side was *Salvius Julianus*, who was of the City *Mahometa* in the Kingdom of *Tunis*. He was brought up by the hand of *Domitia Lucilla*, who was the Mother of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*; and by whose Interest he was first put into the Commission of the *Viginti Viri*. Then he was made a Quæstor, although a year sooner than the Law permitted him in point of age. Then he was made an Ædile and a Prætor, by the favour of *Marcus Antoninus*. And after his Prætorship, he had the Command in *Germany* of the Twenty Second Legion, called *Primigenia*. After that he Governed in *Gallia Belgica* very well, and very long: where the *Cauchi*, a People of *Germany*, who bordered upon the River of *Elbe*, making an Eruption upon him, he resisted them so well with only the tumultuous Forces of the Province, that he merited by it a Consulship. In like manner he overcame the *Catti*. Then he was translated to the Government of *Dalmatia*; which he very well maintained against the bordering Enemies. Next he was removed to the *Lower Germany*, and after that he was made the General of the Provisions in *Italy*.

His Advancement.

He

He was once accuſed by one *Severus Clariſſimus*, a Soldier, of being in a Conſpiracy with *Salvius Julianus*, againſt *Commodus*. But becauſe *Commodus* had already put many Senators to death, who were great and powerful Perſons, and becauſe he was willing a while to forbear his further Cruelty, *Didius Julianus* was diſcharged at that time, and his Accuſer Condemned; after which he was remanded again to his Province. Then he had the Government of *Bithynia* given him; in which however he came ſhort of that Fame, that he had acquired in his other Governments. Next he was made a Conſul in Conjunction with *Pertinax*, and he ſucceeded to *Pertinax* in the Proconſulſhip of *Africa*; who therefore always called him his Collegue and his Succeſſor: But this was more eſpecially remarked to be Ominous, one day when *Julianus* came with his Kinſman to him, when Emperor, to be Contracted to a Daughter of *Pertinax*. For as *Pertinax* received him with the reſpect and kindneſs that was due; he ſaid to him at the ſame time, You, Sir, *Are my Colleague and my Succeſſor:* and preſently after that, followed the death of that Prince. Now he who firſt put up to be Emperor after the death of *Pertinax*, was *Sulpitianus*, who was then in the Camp of the Guards. In the mean time the Senate aſſembled; whither *Julianus* together with his Son-in-Law coming, and finding the Doors ſhut, and the two Tribunes *P. Florianus* and *Vectius Aper* ſtanding at the Door, thoſe two Tribunes

Tribunes began to perſuade him to poſſeſs himſelf of the Empire that was vacant. To which he anſwering, that it was already diſpoſed of to another, they nevertheleſs took him even againſt his will, and carried him to the Camp: where they found *Sulpitianus*, who was the Governor of *Rome*, and Son-in-Law to *Pertinax*, haranguing the Soldiers in his own favour ſo ſtrongly, that they refuſed to hearken in the leaſt to *Julianus*, till he had wiſely adviſed them not to make Choice of one who would Revenge the Murder of *Pertinax*, who was Father-in-Law to him; and then they all immediately tacked about to *Julianus*; who giving it them under his Hand in Writing, that he would reſtore the Memory of *Commodus*, they proclaimed him, engaging him to bear no diſpleaſure however againſt *Sulpitianus* for the Pretenſions which he had made to their Favour.

Then he Choſe, by their Advice, *Flavius Genialis*, and *Tullius Criſpinus* to be the Captains of the Guards; and whereas he had promiſed, that he would give the Soldiers a Bounty of five and twenty thouſand Seſterces, he gave them thirty. In the Evening, after he had Harangued them according to Cuſtom, he came from the Camp to the Senate, to whom he intirely referred himſelf: the Senate accepted him; and firſt Inrolled him amongſt the Families of the Patricians; then they declared him Emperor. The Tribunitian and the Proconſular Powers were conferred upon him; and his Wife called *Mallia Scantilla*,

Declar'd Emperor.

tilla, and his Daughter *Didia Clara* were honoured by them with the Titles of Empreſs, and Princeſs. From the Senate he repaired to the Palace, whither he took his Wife and Daughter with him; but they went trembling, and againſt their wills, as if their minds gave them ſome ſecret Preſages of an approaching Deſtruction. He made *Cornelius Repentinus*, his Son-in-Law, the Governor of the City of *Rome*, in the place of *Sulpitian*. But in the mean time the Populace bore to *Julianus* a Publick hatred, as if he would revive the times of *Commodus*, and as if he had been the Murderer of *Pertinax*, becauſe he propoſed to amend his Faults. They pretended to ſay further, that deſpiſing the Frugal Table of *Pertinax*, he had from the firſt day provided himſelf another that was Luxurious, full of all ſorts of excellent Meats; but this however was falſe. For beſides that his Table was ſufficiently Frugal, he did not Eat at all the firſt day, till the Body of *Pertinax* was buried; and then he did it with a great Melancholy upon him, and ſpent all the night afterwards ſleepleſs, he was ſo concerned for his Friend's death.

The next Morning, as ſoon as it was light, the Senate and the Gentry coming to wait upon him at the Palace; he admitted them, and called them all, with a great deal of Civility, according to every one's Age, his Father, or his Son, or his Brother. Nevertheleſs the Populace both in the *Forum*, and before the Houſe of the Senate, loaded him with perpetual Reproaches, as if they hoped by that means to oblige him

to

to lay down the Empire, that he had received at the Hands of the Soldiers. They threw a Shower of Stones at him; and as he came to the Senate Curſed him publickly, and Curſed him again as he was at his Devotions, by which they wiſhed he might never obtain any thing of the Gods. In the mean time as they threw Stones at him, he only waved his Hand towards them to Pacifie them: and what he ſaid to the Senate was very ſweet and prudent. He thanked them that they had admitted him to Adminiſter, in Conjunction with them, the Soveraign Power; and for the Honor they had done, not only to himſelf, but to his Wife and his Daughter. He accepted from them the Title of the *Father of the Country*; but he refuſed to have his Statue ſet up in Silver, which they offered him. Going from the Senate again to the Capitol, the Populace made a ſtop to him; till they were forced aſide, partly by Blows with Sword in Hand, and partly by good Words and promiſes of Money. From thence he went to the Publick Games in the Cirque; where the People Crowding themſelves indifferently into all the Seats, redoubled their outragious Reproaches againſt him; and called aloud upon *Peſcennius Niger*, who was ſaid to have already taken upon him the quality of the Emperor, to come to the Succour of the City of *Rome*; yet all this took he quietly, and appeared to be of an extraordinary ſweet Temper all the time of his Reign. The People inveighed no leſs bitterly againſt the Soldiers, who had kill'd *Pertinax*, they ſaid for Money. To

conciliate therefore the favour of theſe People, ſeveral things which *Commodus* had well appointed, and *Pertinax* had aboliſhed, *Didius Julianus* reſtored again. He ſpoke nothing, neither good nor bad, as to *Pertinax* himſelf; which ſeemed to ſeveral to be very ſtrange; but the only reaſon, why he was ſilent of his Honor, was the fear of the Soldiers, who had killed him.

Now *Julianus* had no apprehenſion of any Oppoſition being made to him on the ſide either of the Forces in *Great Britain*, or thoſe in *Illyricum*. But fearing eſpecially thoſe in *Syria*, which were commanded by *Peſcennius Niger*, he ſent a Centurion thither with Orders to cut him off. Hereupon *Peſcennius Niger* in *Syria*, and *Septimius Severus* in *Illyricum*, revolted from *Julianus* with the Armies under their Commands. Being told of the latter, from whom he had ſuſpected nothing; he came in Anger to the Senate, and cauſed him to be declared an Enemy, and the Soldiers with him, unleſs they deſerted him by ſuch a day: to whom Meſſengers were ſent at the ſame time from the Senate, to perſuade them to renounce *Severus*, and adhere to *Julianus*. Amonſt whom was *Veſpronius Candidus*, who was a great Senior in the Rank of the Conſuls, but hated of old by the Soldiers, becauſe of his Severities. *Valerius Catulinus* was ſent in the Quality of Succeſſor to *Severus*: as if it was an eaſie thing to be the Succeſſor of a Man, who had an Army to defend him. Together with theſe was ſent *Aquilius*, the Centurion, a known

Niger *and* Severus *revolt.*

known Aſſaſſin, who having already murdered many Senators, might try his Hand once again, and do no leſs to *Severus*. In the mean time *Didius Julianus* ordered the Guards to be exerciſed, and their Camp to be refortified. But as the Soldiers were become idle, and diſſolute by being accuſtomed to the Luxuries of *Rome*, it was very much againſt their wills, that they were brought to their Arms; inſomuch that they hired others for Money to ſupply their places, and do their duties in their ſteads.

Septimius Severus took his march towards the City of *Rome*, with the Army under his Command; whilſt the People there, every day more both hated and derided *Julianus*. Nor was he able to do any good upon the Soldiers of the Guards; and thinking that *Lætus* was a Favourer of the Cauſe of *Severus*, he ungratefully commanded him to be killed, who was one that had formerly ſaved his life from the Hands of *Commodus*; and *Martia* he commanded to be killed with him. But whilſt theſe things were in paſſing, *Severus* poſſeſſed himſelf of the Fleet and City of *Ravenna*; and the Embaſſadors of the Senate, that had promiſed this Succour to *Julianus*, changed ſides, and engag'd on the part of *Severus*. Alſo *Tullius Criſpinus*, the Captain of the Guards, who had been ſent to make Head againſt his Troops, received a defeat, and returned back by *Rome*. When *Julianus* ſaw all this, he propoſed to the Senate, that the *Veſtal Virgins* and all the Prieſts, together with the Senate, ſhould

ſhould march forth to meet the Army of *Severus*, Arrayed all in their ſeveral Habits, and ſhould conjure and perſuade him fairly to deſiſt his Hoſtilities. A vain thing indeed, to ſuppoſe of an Army of deſperate Soldiers. Therefore *Fauſtinus Quintillus*, an Augur, and a Conſul, took the liberty to contradict him in that Propoſal; and boldly ſaid, to which many of the Senators gave their conſents; *That a Man was not fit to Command, who could not reſiſt his Adverſary by force of Arms.* *Julianus* in great Anger ſent for Soldiers out of the Camp, to force the Senate into a Compliance with him, or Maſſacre them upon the place. But neither did this take. For certainly it was very unreaſonable, that when the Senate had adjudged *Severus* an Enemy upon the account of *Julianus*, the ſame *Julianus* ſhould turn ſuch a Butcherer of the Senate. So he came to the Senate with another and a better Propoſal, which was that there might be an Act for the participation of the Empire betwixt *Severus* and him, and this was done immediately. Every one now called to mind an Omen of all this, which came from the Mouth of *Julianus* himſelf, when he had the Empire given him. For when the Conſul had ſaid in the name of the Senate, I order *Didius Julianus* to be proclaimed Emperor, *Julianus* prompted and corrected him thus, ſay *Didius Julianus Severus*, that is, becauſe *Severus* was a third name which he took from his Grandfather, and Great Grandfather. Some indeed deny, that there was any ſuch Order of his, as that of murdering

Severus *declar'd Partner in the Empire.*

murdering the Senate, who had been ſo kind to him. But however that is, after paſſing that Act, he ſent immediately *Tullius Criſpinus*, his Captain of the Guards, to Complement *Severus*. He alſo Created *Veturius Macrinus*, another Captain of the Guards; becauſe he underſtood that *Severus* had ſent Letters to make him one. In the mean time the People ſaid aloud, and *Severus* ſuſpected as much, that this Peace was but a Feint, and that *Tullius Criſpinus* was ſent to him rather with private Orders to kill him. So *Severus*, with the advice of his Army, choſe to be his declared Enemy, rather than his Partner; and accordingly he writ to a great many Perſons in *Rome*, his Friends, who ſecretly received and diſpatched his Orders. As for the reſt, *Julianus* tried all ſorts of things by the Magicians, that could be deviſed to mitigate the hatred of the People, or to bridle the Arms of the Enemy. And certainly the Magicians offered ſuch Sacrifices for him upon this occaſion, as were by no means conſonant to the Rites of the *Romans*. They tried their Charms in Profane Verſes, and other Charms which they do with a Looking-glaſs: but yet all went ill on the ſide of *Julianus*; and all that they diſcovered from them was, the coming in of the one, and the departure of the other Emperor.

As *Tullius Criſpinus* came as far as to meet the Avant-Guards of *Severus*, he was killed by his order, in which he followed the advice that was given him by *Julius Lætus*. Then *Julianus* convoked the Senate again, and

and asked their Opinions, what more was to be done; but the Senate could not resolve him. He ordered after that, of his own motion, the Gladiators of *Capua* to take Arms under the Command of *Lollianus Titianus*. He invited *Claudius Pompeianus*, from his Retreat at *Terracina*, to joyn with him in the Government, because he had long commanded Armies, and was the Son-in-Law of an Emperor. But *Pompeianus* excused himself, and said, he was an Old Man, and wanted his sight. In the mean time, the Army of *Severus* was encreased, by Soldiers that came to him out of the Province of *Ombria*; and he sent Letters before him to *Rome*, to order the Murderers of *Pertinax* to be secured. So in a little time, *Didius Julianus* was abandoned by all the World, and remained in the Court, with only *Genialis*, one of his Captains of the Guards, and his Son-in-Law *Repentinus* with him. The next thing was to depose him from the Empire, by the Sentence of the Senate: This was done, and all his Power abrogated, and *Severus* immediately declared Emperor in his place. Afterward it was pretended that he had poysoned himself; but in effect, there were Persons immediately sent on the part of the Senate, who caused him to be killed by the hands of a mercenary Soldier, imploring, as he fell, the Faith of *Cæsar*; that is, *Severus*. He had given all his Paternal Estate to his Daughter, and emancipated her upon his Elevation to the Empire. But as well her Riches, as her Illustrious Title of Princess, were soon taken from her again. His Body was delivered by *Severus*, to

He is deposed,

And slain.

Manlia Scintilla his Wife, and to his Daughter, to be buried; who put it into a Tomb of his great Grandfather, five Miles from *Rome*, upon the *Via Lavicana*, that is, the High-way, called by that Name.

Now the things condemned in this Prince were theſe; that he gormandized, that is, eat to exceſs, gam'd much, plaid at the Weapons of the Gladiators; and did all this, being an Old Man, tho' he had never before been attached to thoſe Vices in his Youth; and that he was Proud; but this is not to be believed, for in his Reign he ſhewed himſelf the moſt humble Man in the World; the moſt obliging in his Entertainments; the moſt courteous in his Subſcription of himſelf in his Letters, and of a moſt excellent Temper in allowing of the Liberties of his Friends. He lived Six and Fifty Years and Four Months; and reigned but Two Months and Five Days. Therefore his great Error was, that he ought by his abſolute Authority to have governed thoſe, whom on the contrary he made abſolute over himſelf, to govern the State.

THE

A. Christi CXCIV.

THE Life and Reign OF THE EMPEROR *Septimius Severus*,

Dedicated to the

EMPEROR *DIOCLESIAN.*

BY

ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS.

SEVERUS, who enjoyed the Empire after the Death of *Didius Julianus*, was born in *Africa*, at the Town of *Napoli di Barbaria*, in the Government of *Tripoli*. His Father's Name was *Geta*. His Ancestors had been Knights of *Rome* of old Time. His Mo-

His Extraction.

ther was *Fulvia Pia.* His Uncles by his Father's ſide were *Marcus Agrippa* and *Severus*, who had both been Conſuls. His Grandfather by his Father's ſide was *Mucer*; by his Mother's, *Fulvius Pius.* He was born under the Conſulſhips of *Erucius Clarus*, and *Severus*, which was then the ſecond Conſulſhip of the firſt, upon the ſixth of the Ides of *April.* When he was but a Child, and before he had any Tincture of the Latin and Greek Letters, in which he was afterwards ſo very perfect, he loved to play altogether at a Sport, in which having Bundles of Rods and Axes carried before him, and a row of Boys ſtanding about him, he ſate himſelf down as a Judge, and tried Cauſes.

In the Eighteenth Year of his Age, he declaimed in Publick. Afterwards he came to *Rome* to make his Studies; where through the Favour of his Kinſman, *Septimius Severus*, who had been twice Conſul, he received the Honour of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* to be created a Senator. Now his Landlord with whom he lodged at *Rome*, upon his firſt coming thither, was at that moment Reading the Life of the Emperor *Hadrian*, which he was quick to obſerve, as an Omen to himſelf of future Grandeur. Another Omen that he had, was more parcicularly, as to his Reign, which was this; being once invited to a Banquet of the Emperor, he came in his Cloak, when he ought to have come in his Gown; which the Emperor taking Notice of, he gave him a Gown of his own to put on, which was the ſame

He is made a Senator.

ſame that he wore when he ſate in Judgment. The ſame Night he dreamt that he ſucked the Breaſts of a Wolf, as if he was a *Remus* or a *Romulus*. He ſate himſelf down in the Emperor's Chair, which a Servant had put out of its place, without thinking any thing of it, nor knowing that this was not permitted. As he was aſleep once at his Lodgings, a Serpent came and had twiſted it ſelf about his Head; which the Servant perceiving, cried out, and he awaked, and the Serpent went from him again without doing him any hurt.

His Youth was full of Fury and Wildneſſes, which were ſometimes criminal. He was arraigned for Adultery, but was acquitted by *Didius Julianus*, the Proconſul of *Africa*, to whom he ſucceeded in the Charge of that Proconſulſhip, and was his Colleague in his Conſulſhip, and again ſucceeded him in the Empire. He diſcharged his Queſtorſhip of the City of *Rome*, very well, into which he was elected unanimouſly. Afterwards he was choſen a Military Queſtor, that is, Pay-Maſter, or Commiſſary to the Army, for the Province of *Hiſpania Bætica*. From thence he went into *Africa* to receive the Succeſſion to his Father who was dead there. And whilſt he was in *Africa*, inſtead of the Province of *Bætica*, he was made the Queſtor for the Iſland of *Sardinia*, becauſe the *Moors* had laid waſte *Hiſpania Bætica*. This Adminiſtration being over, he was advanced to be the Proconſul of *Africa*; in which place a Plebeian of his own Town of *Napoli di Barbaria* coming to him, whilſt the

Rods were carried before him, and preſuming to embrace him, as his old Companion, he ordered him to be taken and well Cudgelled, with this Inſcription over his Head, *You who are a Plebeian, have a care of touching ſo a Proconſul of the People of* Rome. Since which time, the Cuſtom is for the Proconſuls to go out always in a Coach, whereas before they walked on Foot. He conſulted, being in *Africa*, with an Aſtrologer, about his Fortune, which he was ſolicitous to know. The Aſtrologer took the Hour of his Birth, and obſerving great things from it, ſays he to him, *Give me your own Horoſcope, and not another Man's*: *Severus* proteſting, that it was his own, he told him of all the things which afterwards arrived to him.

By the Favour of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, he was made a *Tribune of the People*, which he diſcharged with the greateſt Exactneſs, and all the Strictneſs that could be deſired. Then he married *Martia*, of whom he ſays nothing himſelf, in his Hiſtory of his private Life. But after he was Emperor, he ſet up her Statues. In the Thirty Second Year of his Age, he was choſen a Prætor, before a Number of others that were Competitors againſt him. At the ſame time, he was ſent into *Spain*. Upon which he dreamt, that it was ſaid to him, that he ſhould reſtore the Temple of *Auguſtus* at the City of *Tarragona*, which was falling into ruin; and then that from the top of a very high Mountain, he had a Proſpect given him of all the Earth, but particularly of the City of *Rome*,

Rome, about which all the Provinces were joyning in a Conſort of Harps, Voices, and ſweet Flutes. He gave the People the diverſion of the publick Shews in his abſence. Then he had the command of the Fourth Legion, called *Scythica*, which was in *Syria*. In his way to which, he went to *Athens*, for the Curioſity of obſerving the Studies and the Rites, the Works, and the Antiquities of that Seat of the Muſes: But becauſe he received ſome Injuries there from the *Athenians*, he became their Enemy; and when he was Emperor, he was willing to avenge himſelf of them, by cutting ſhort their Privileges. Next he was removed to the Province of the *Lionnois* in *Gallia*, to be the Lieutenant there. And having loſt his Wife, and propoſing to marry another, he took the Care firſt to be informed, being very well vers'd in the knowledge of Aſtrology himſelf, in the Nativities of his Miſtreſſes; and as he had heard, that there was a Lady in *Syria*, who had found by her Nativity, that ſhe was to be married to a King, he courted her, and in fine, married her, whoſe Name was *Julia*, by whom he was ſoon after made a Father. *His ſecond Marriage*

His Exactneſs, his Honour, and his great Sobriety, cauſed him to be ſo much beloved amongſt the *Gauls*, as never Perſon was. He was tranſlated from thence to the Government of *Pannonia*, with a Proconſular Power. From *Pannonia* to *Sicily*, which was another Proconſulſhip; and when he had made his return again to *Rome*, he received of his Wife a ſe-

cond Son. Being in *Sicily*, he was accuſed of conſulting the *Chaldæans* and the Aſtrologers about his coming to the Empire, for which he was ordered to be heard before the Captains of the Guards; who, it then being the time that the Emperor *Commodus* began to fall into an univerſal odium, acquitted him, and crucified the Man that calumniated him. He was Conſul the firſt time in Conjunction with *Apuleius Ruffinus*, by the particular appointment of *Commodus*. After his Conſulſhip, he continued an entire Year at *Rome*, without Employ; and then by the recommendation of *Lætus*, he was preferred to the Command of the Army in *Germany*. He had lived till now at *Rome*, in a very little Houſe with one ſmall Plat of Ground to it. But as he went to take the Poſſeſſion of this laſt Charge, he purchaſed himſelf a ſpatious *Villa*; where once taking a ſmall Repaſt together with his little Infants, and Fruit being brought, his Eldeſt Son, who was then of the Age of Five Years, diſtributed it amongſt the Children, his Play-Fellows, ſo liberally, that his Father ſaid to him, *Not ſo faſt, my Son, you have not the Riches of a King.* The Child of Five Years old, anſwered, *But I ſhall have.* So being gone to his Command in *Germany*, he acquitted himſelf in that ſort, that he raiſed his Name, which was already ennobled, to a far higher pitch of Glory.

Hitherto he had followed Arms, but in the Quality of a private Perſon. But now the News coming that *Commodus* was killed, and

and that *Didius Julianus*, who for the preſent was upon the Throne, was univerſally hated; the *German* Legions encouraged him no leſs than he declined it, to put up for the Empire. They declared him Emperor upon the Ides of *Auguſt*; at the ſame time he gave them a Bounty of Fifty Thouſand *Seſterces*, which was more than any Prince had ever done before; and having ſecured the Provinces which he left at his Back, he haſtened his March to *Rome*. Every one opened the way to him in all the places where he came. The Armies of *Illyricum* and *Gallia*, ſwore Fidelity to him. And every where they received him, as the Avenger of the Murder of *Pertinax*. In the mean time, *Didius Julianus* prevailed with the Senate to declare him an Enemy, and the Senate ſent their Commiſſioners to his Army to command the Soldiers in their Names to depart from his Service. It is true, it put him firſt into a great concern: but afterwards he managed the thing ſo, that he corrupted thoſe very Commiſſioners, ſo that they ſpoke to the Soldiers for him, and came over themſelves to his ſide. *Julianus* who was ſoon advertiſed of a Conduct ſo extraordinary, obtained then a Decree of the Senate, in which it was declared, that the Empire ſhould be participated betwixt himſelf and *Severus*: but whether this was with a ſincere, or a treacherous Intention, it is uncertain, becauſe in truth, he had before ſent ſome known Aſſaſſines to him, to kill him; and others, at the ſame time, to kill *Peſcennius Niger*, who had alſo taken up the Empire

Declared Emperor by the Army.

Empire againſt him, upon the Authority of the Forces in *Syria*. However it was, *Severus* eſcaped their Hands, and writ Letters to the Guards at *Rome* to abandon and ſlay *Julianus*; which was executed upon him accordingly, as he was in the Court, and *Severus* was invited to enter into *Rome*; who with a Fortune, which hath never happened to any before him, became a Conqueror as it were with a Word, and ſo marched on to *Rome* at the Head of his Troops.

Enters Rome.

He kept himſelf all the while in his Camps and Tents, in his march in *Italy*, no leſs than if he ſtill appeared there with the face of an Enemy. The Senate deputed a Hundred out of their Body, as their Envoys to compliment and congratulate him; who came up to him at the City of *Teramo* in *Abruzzo*. He received them when they ſaluted him, all in Armour, and in the midſt of his armed Troops. The next day all the Domeſticks of the Court arrived to pay their Reverences to him. He preſented the Envoys of the Senate with ſeven hundred and twenty Pieces of Gold, and diſmiſſed them. But yet if they pleaſed, he welcomed them to ſtay and to return to *Rome* in his Company. Then he immediately made *Flavius Juvenalis* the Captain of the Guards, who was one that *Julianus* had choſen to be a third Captain of the ſame under him. In the mean time, the Trouble was very great at *Rome*, amongſt the Soldiers and the Citizens; becauſe *Severus* whom they judged their Enemy, approached to them with a puiſſant Army. At the ſame time

time the Legions in *Syria* had ſet up *Peſcennius Niger*, Emperor; whoſe Edicts therefore, and whoſe Letters to the People or to the Senate, *Severus* intercepted, that they ſhould not be read to the one or the other. And as he judged very well, that it concerned him to ſecure himſelf againſt him, he ſent *Heraclius* to take in the Country of *Bithynia*; and *Plautianus*, to make himſelf Maſter of the Children of *Peſcennius Niger*. Then coming up to the City of *Rome*, before he made his entrance into it, he ordered the old Guards there to appear before him without their Arms, which they did, and he held a Council of War upon them, and ſurrounded them with Guards of his own Troops.

In fine, as he made his publick Entrance into the City, himſelf and his Soldiers, all under their Arms, he took his way ſtrait up to the Capitol. From the Capitol, he proceeded in the ſame form to the Palace, with the Banners which he had taken from the old Guards carried before him, not flying, but furled, as in mourning. All the City over did the Soldiers ſpread themſelves, and filled the Temples, the Piazza's, and the Houſes of the Court, like ſo many Inns. At their Diſcretion they took all things, without Buying, and threatned to plunder all the City; ſo that certainly one may ſay, the Entrance of *Severus* was odious and terrible. The next day he came, accompanied with his Friends, and a great Guard of his armed Soldiers, to the Senate, where he gave the Senate an Account of his aſſumption of the Empire, and complained;

complained, that *Didius Julianus* had ſent Men, who were known Aſſaſſines, to him, to kill him. He obliged them to paſs an Act, that it ſhould be unlawful for the Emperor to put to death a Senator, without taking the advice of the Senate. But whilſt he was there, the Army that had brought him in, demanded of the Senate ſeditiouſly ten thouſand Seſterces, after the example of thoſe who had formerly brought in *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and had received that Sum. *Severus* would have repreſſed them, but he could not, without ſweetning them with Money; which ſent them away pacified. In the next place, in honour of the Memory of *Pertinax*, he ſolemnized a Royal Funeral for him, in which he was repreſented by his Image; and he Conſecrated him a God, and appointed his Prieſts. He was willing to be called *Pertinax* himſelf, till the complaints of his Friends made him aboliſh the name again, as if it was ominous of a ſhort Reign.

After this he rendred to every one what belonged to him; and he married his two Daughters, having endowed them well, to *Probus* and *Aetius*. To the former of whom he offered the Government of the City of *Rome*; but he refuſed it, and ſaid, *That he thought it leſs to be the Governor of* Rome, *than to be the Son in-Law of a Prince.* He made both of them Conſuls, and gave them great Riches. Another day he came to the Senate, and made a Proſcription of the Friends of *Didius Julianus*; ſuch as againſt whom there were Accuſations brought, and afterwards ordered

dered them to be Executed. He heard a great many Cauſes Pleaded before him. He ſeverely puniſhed the Magiſtrates of the Provinces, who ſtood accuſed by their People, if he found the matter of their Accuſations proved againſt them. He looked ſo well after the affair of the Magazines of Corn, which he found in a very low condition, that when he died, he left enough for ſeven years to come. He took up an Expedition into the Eaſt to eſtabliſh the State of Affairs there; not ſpeaking any thing as yet openly of *Peſcennius Niger*, only he immediately ſent ſome Legions into *Africa*, for fear that *Niger* ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of *Alexandria* or *Carthage* by the way of *Libya* and *Egypt*, and ſo afflict the People of *Rome* with a want of Corn. He left *Domitius Dexter*, Governor of the City of *Rome*, in the place of *Baſſus*, and within thirty days of his coming thither, he ſet out from it again. After he had marched as far as to a place called *Saxa Rubra*, he had an occaſion to appeaſe a great Sedition which was ariſen in his Army upon the ſubject of their Encampments. Here his Brother *Geta* met him; whom he Commanded to do his Duty in what had been ordered him; but *Geta* had been full, when he came, of other Hopes. Here alſo the Children of *Peſcennius Niger* were brought to him, whom he received and entertained with the ſame Kindneſs, as if they were his own. He had ſent a Legion to ſecure the Countries of *Greece* and *Thrace*, againſt *Niger*. But, notwithſtanding that, *Niger* had already ſeized upon *Byzantium* and

His Expedition againſt Niger.

pretended

pretended to do the ſame to the City of *Heraclia*; and having put to death a great many Perſons of his Army, becauſe he ſuſpected them, *Severus* declared him, together with *Æmilianus*, the Proconſul of *Aſia*, an Enemy. *Niger* invited *Severus* to agree to a Participation of the Empire; but this was ſlighted. *Severus* promiſed him, if he pleaſed, his Life in Safety: But he would give no Quarter to *Æmilianus*; who therefore being beaten ſoon after upon the Coaſts of the *Helleſpont* by the Captains of *Severus*, fled firſt to *Cyziqua*, and then to another City, in which he was killed: and the Troops of *Niger* were alſo put to the Rout by the ſame.

Niger *defeated,*

Severus with the News of this, ſent Letters to the Senate, as though his Work was done. He fought next in Perſon with *Niger*, and killed him by the City of *Cyziqua*, and ordered his Head to be carried about upon a Spear: whoſe Children, after this, whom he had hitherto received with the ſame kindneſs as his own, and their Mother, he baniſhed. Immediately he gave the Senate, by Letter, an account of his Victory; and he put none to death of the Senators, who had been of the ſide of *Niger*, except only one. He was angry with the City of *Antioch*; becauſe they had both made a mock of his Adminiſtration of things in the Eaſt, and had furniſhed *Niger* with Proviſions; ſo he deprived them of many of their Privileges. He deprived alſo the People of *Sichem* in *Paleſtine*, of their Freedom of *Rome*: becauſe they had been a long

and ſlain.

long time armed for the ſervice of *Niger*. He chaſtiſed ſeveral other Cities that had followed him; and by the loſſes and damages which he made them ſuffer, he left upon them the marks of his Reſentments. After this, he did a great many things about *Arabia*. He obliged the *Parthians* to yield to him, and the People of the Country of *Adiabene*, who were all in the ſame Intereſts with *Peſcennius Niger*. Wherefore at his return, he was offered the honour of Triumph, and was Entitled Conqueror of the *Arabians*, *Adiabenians*, and *Parthians*; but the Triumph he refuſed; leſt it ſhould be pretended that he triumphed a for Victory, gained as it were over his own Subjects, and he refuſed the Style of Conqueror of the *Parthians*, not to offend the *Parthians* too ſenſibly.

But no ſooner was he returning to *Rome* from the Civil-War of *Peſcennius Niger*, but he had the News of another, which he was to ſuſtain againſt *Clodius Albinus*, who had revolted in *Gallia*. This occaſioned him to command the Children of *Niger*, and their Mother to be put to death. Then he immediately declared *Albinus* an Enemy, and all his Adherents, if they had but written tenderly to him, or anſwered his Letters. And as he was upon his way againſt him, meeting with his eldeſt Son *Baſſianus* at the Village of *Vimy* near *Lions*, he conferred upon him the Title of *Cæſar*, and called him by the name of *Aurelius Antoninus Baſſianus*. The reaſon whereof was, to cut off his Brother *Geta* from the hopes which he had conceived of the Empire. And he called him

Revolt of Clodius Albinus.

him by the name of *Antoninus*, either becauſe he had dreamt that an *Antoninus* ſhould ſucceed him, for which reaſon ſome ſay that *Geta* had had given to himſelf the ſame name; or becauſe *Severus* himſelf had ſometime formerly been of a mind to paſs out of his own Family into that of *Marcus Antoninus*. The Captains of *Severus* were at firſt defeated by thoſe of *Clodius Albinus*; which caſt him into that concern, that he conſulted with the *Augurs* of *Pannonia* about his Fortune; who told him that he ſhould be the Conqueror, but yet that his Adverſary ſhould neither fall into his power, neither ſave himſelf; and that he ſhould periſh by the ſide of a Water. Nor was it long after this, before ſeveral of the Friends of *Albinus* abandoned him, and came and preſented themſelves before *Severus*, and others of his Captains were taken Priſoners, upon whom he exacted a rigorous Chaſtiſement.

Albinus *overthrown.*

After a great many things had paſt variouſly on both ſides, the Battel of *Tournom* near *Lions* was fought, in which *Severus* carried the Day with the greateſt ſucceſs; only he was once thrown from his Horſe, and the Army believing him to be killed, was juſt upon the point of making another Emperor. The Senate had at this time read ſome things, which were in the praiſe of *Clodius Celſinus*, who was of the City of *Mahometa* in *Africa*, and the Kinſman of *Albinus*: which diſobliging *Severus*, as if they had meant it in the favour of *Albinus* himſelf, and thinking that he could not better revenge

it

it upon them, than by Conſecrating *Commodus* a God; he firſt of all pronounced him a God amongſt the Army, and then writ the ſame to the Senate, with a recital of the Victory, and commanded that the Bodies of the Senators who were killed in the fight, ſhould be left abandoned and unburied. The Body of *Albinus* being brought to him, but half dead, he ordered his Head to be cut off, and carried to *Rome* with the Letters which he writ upon this Subject. He was overcome the eleventh day of the Calends of *March*; his Body was expoſed before his own Tent till it ſtunk: *Severus* rid his Horſe over it; and the Horſe boggling at it with horror, he forced him on with the Spur. At laſt he ordered it to be thrown into the River of *Rhoſne*, together with thoſe of his Wife and Children.

His extreme Severity.

He put to death after this an infinite number of Perſons of the Party of *Albinus*, and amongſt the reſt, many of the Chief of *Rome*, and ſeveral Ladies of Quality. All whoſe Eſtates were Confiſcated, and returned into the *Exchequer*. He did the ſame, on this occaſion, with ſeveral of the Grandees of *Spain* and *Gallia*. So that he gave the Soldiers the greateſt Pay by this means, that any Prince ever did; and to his Children by virtue of this Proſcription he left the moſt of any Prince at his death. For he had amaſſed to himſelf the greateſt part of the Gold and Silver that was in *Gallia*, and in all *Spain*, and all *Italy*. He was the firſt that Conſtituted the Officer of Procurator of the Private Affairs of the Em-

peror; or Keeper of the Privy Purſe. Many others of the Party of *Albinus*, keeping their Faith to him, which they had promiſed, were defeated in Battel likewiſe by *Severus*. The *Arabian* Legion had revolted to him. All which aggravated the Revenge of *Severus* upon the Party; of whom having killed a great many more, and extinguiſhed the whole Family of the *Albini*, he came to *Rome* in a Choler at the People and the Senate: where he applauded *Commodus* publickly both to the one and the other: called him a *God*; ſaid they were only infamous Perſons and Poultrons, to whom he had been diſpleaſing: you might ſee, he was evidently furious. Then he diſcourſed upon his own Clemency, though of all Men he had been the moſt Cruel, and had murdered the Senators following, without any legal Tryal, who were all illuſtrious Perſonages: *Mummius Secundinus*, *Aſellius Claudianus*, *Claudius Rufus*, *Vitellius Victor*, *Papius Fauſtus*, *Ælius Celſus*, *Julius Rufus*, *Lollius Profeſſus*, *Arunculeius Cornelianus*, *Antoninus Balbus*, *Poſthumius Severus*, *Sergius Luſtratus*, *Fabius Paulinus*, *Nonius Gracchus*, *Muſtius Fabianus*, *Caſperius Agrippinus*, *Cejonius Albinus*, *Claudius Sulpitianus*, *Memmius Rufinus*, *Caſperius Æmilianus*, *Cocceius Verus*, *Erucius Clarus*, *L. Stilo*, *Clodius Rufus*, *Egnatuleius Honoratus*, *Petronius Junior*; *Feſtus*, *Neratianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Materianus*, *Julianus*, and *Albinus*, of the Family of the *Peſcennii*; *Macrinus*, *Fauſtinianus*, *Julianus*, of the Family of the *Cerellii*; *Herennius Nepos*, *Sulpitius Canus*, *Valerius Catulinus*, *Novius Rufus*,

ſus, *Claudius Arabianus*, and *Marius Aſcellio*. Of theſe, the greateſt part were of the degree of the Conſuls, others Prætors, but all certainly very excellent Men: the murdering of whom, ſo many and ſo illuſtrious, as they were, made the *Africans* admire *Severus* as a Deity. He charged *Cincius Severus* with a deſign to have Poyſoned him, and ſo likewiſe put him to death. He threw *Narciſſus*, who had ſtrangled *Commodus*, to the Lions. Many of obſcure Note and Birth beſides he killed, not to ſpeak of the reſt who were taken off by the rights of War.

After all this, being willing to recommend himſelf to the People, he removed the Charge of the Poſt, and the Publick Carriages from Private Perſons, to lay it upon the *Exchequer*. He ordered his Son *Baſſianus Antoninus*, to be declared *Cæſar* by the Senate, and to wear the Enſigns of Majeſty accordingly: and next of his own abſolute Authority, he erected Statues to his Father, Mother, Grandfather, and his firſt Wife. He conceived ſuch a great diſguſt againſt *Plautianus*, after knowing his Life, that from an intimate Favourite, he declared him a publick Enemy, and did him the diſgrace to throw down his Statues which before had been placed next to thoſe of the Relations and Allies of *Severus*, in all places of the Empire where they were. He remitted the People of *Paleſtine*, the Puniſhments which he had menaced them with in the Cauſe of *Peſcennius Niger*. Afterwards he received *Plautianus* into favour again, and baniſhed his Ene-

Declares his Son Cæſar.

peror; or Keeper of the Privy Purſe. Many others of the Party of *Albinus*, keeping their Faith to him, which they had promiſed, were defeated in Battel likewiſe by *Severus*. The *Arabian* Legion had revolted to him. All which aggravated the Revenge of *Severus* upon the Party; of whom having killed a great many more, and extinguiſhed the whole Family of the *Albini*, he came to *Rome* in a Choler at the People and the Senate: where he applauded *Commodus* publickly both to the one and the other: called him a *God*; ſaid they were only infamous Perſons and Poultrons, to whom he had been diſpleaſing: you might ſee, he was evidently furious. Then he diſcourſed upon his own Clemency, though of all Men he had been the moſt Cruel, and had murdered the Senators following, without any legal Tryal, who were all illuſtrious Perſonages: *Mummius Secundinus*, *Aſellius Claudianus*, *Claudius Rufus*, *Vitellius Victor*, *Papius Fauſtus*, *Ælius Celſus*, *Julius Rufus*, *Lollius Profeſſus*, *Arunculeius Cornelianus*, *Antoninus Balbus*, *Poſthumius Severus*, *Sergius Luſtratus*, *Fabius Paulinus*, *Nonius Gracchus*, *Muſtius Fabianus*, *Caſperius Agrippinus*, *Cejonius Albinus*, *Claudius Sulpitianus*, *Memmius Rufinus*, *Caſperius Æmilianus*, *Cocceius Verus*, *Erucius Clarus*, *L. Stilo*, *Clodius Rufus*, *Egnatuleius Honoratus*, *Petronius Junior*; *Feſtus*, *Neratianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Materianus*, *Julianus*, and *Albinus*, of the Family of the *Peſcennii*; *Macrinus*, *Fauſtinianus*, *Julianus*, of the Family of the *Cerellii*; *Heremius Nepos*, *Sulpitius Canus*, *Valerius Catulinus*, *Novius Rufus*,

ſus, [illegible]*dius Arabianus*, and *Marius Aſcellio*. Of theſe, the greateſt part were of the degree of the Conſuls, others Prætors, but all certainly very excellent Men: the murdering of whom, ſo many and ſo illuſtrious, as they were, made the *Africans* admire *Severus* as a Deity. He charged *Crucius Severus* with a deſign to have Poyſoned him, and ſo likewiſe put him to death. He threw *Narciſſus*, who had ſtrangled *Commodus*, to the Lions. Many of obſcure Note and Birth beſides he killed, not to ſpeak of the reſt who were taken off by the rights of War.

After all this, being willing to recommend himſelf to the People, he removed the Charge of the Poſt, and the Publick Carriages from Private Perſons, to lay it upon the *Exchequer*. He ordered his Son *Baſſianus Antoninus*, to be declared *Cæſar* by the Senate, and to wear the Enſigns of Majeſty accordingly: and next of his own abſolute Authority, he erected Statues to his Father, Mother, Grandfather, and his firſt Wife. He conceived ſuch a great diſguſt againſt *Plautianus*, after knowing his Life, that from an intimate Favourite, he declared him a publick Enemy, and did him the diſgrace to throw down his Statues which before had been placed next to thoſe of the Relations and Allies of *Severus*, in all places of the Empire where they were. He remitted the People of *Paleſtine*, the Puniſhments which he had menaced them with in the Cauſe of *Peſcennius Niger*. Afterwards he received *Plautianus* into favour again, and baniſhed his Ene-

Declares his Son Cæſar.

mies: who entred the City, as it were in Triumph, and went up to the Capitol; and yet in Proceſs of time, for all that he killed him. He gave the Man's, or the *Roman* Gown, to *Geta* his youngeſt Son; and married his Eldeſt to a Daughter of *Plautianus*. He made them both Conſuls; but *Geta*, his own Brother, he killed. Then the *Parthian* War came on; upon his going to which, he firſt treated the People with the Games of the Gladiators, and gave them a Largeſs. But ſtill he put to death ſeveral Perſons, whether for real, or pretended Cauſes, whilſt theſe things paſt. Some becauſe they Rallied upon him; others becauſe they held their Tongues and ſaid nothing. Some becauſe they had ſaid, *He was an Emperor that had not his name for nothing. A right* Pertinax, *a right* Severus.

The Parthian *Expedition.*

As for the *Parthian* War, certainly it was generally ſaid that *Severus* affected it out of a deſire of Glory, rather than that he was carried upon it by any neceſſity. He imbarked his Army at the Port of *Brindiſi*; from whence continuing on his Journey, he came into *Syria*, where he prepared himſelf to make War upon the *Parthians* in their own Country, after he had driven them out of their Footings in this. Together with which, by the advice of *Plautianus*, he hunted after the Reliques of the Faction of *Peſcennius Niger*, and ſlew them without Mercy. Others he ſlew, pretending that they had conſulted the Aſtrologers and the Diviners concerning his death. Particularly he ſuſpected every one that was but proper

per to make an Emperor of. Whilſt his Sons were yet little, which was the time for Men to try their Fortunes, either he heard, that it was ſaid by them, or he imagined, that they ſaid ſo. But yet as to ſome, who were murdered, he excuſed himſelf, and denied that it had been done by his order; and particularly *Marius Maximus* ſays, he did it in the Caſe of *Lætus*. His own Siſter making him a Viſit from the Town of *Napoli di Barbaria*, where he was born, had brought her Son along with her: and as ſhe was one that was ſcarce able to ſpeak the Latin Tongue, ſhe made the Emperor bluſh for her very much: who gave her ſeveral rich Preſents, and made her Son a Senator; but when that was done, he ordered her to go back to her own Country again, and take her Son with her, who ſoon after died.

The Summer being over, becauſe in thoſe Parts the Winter is the beſt Seaſon for War, he entred into the Kingdom of *Parthia*; and obliging the Enemy to give way to him, he marched forward, and ſet himſelf down before *Cteſiphon*, which he took. But as his Soldiers had lived but upon the Roots of the Herbs which they found, whereby they had contracted great ſickneſſes, and particularly the Flux, which hindered their Marches, he ſatisfied himſelf with the Conqueſt which he had made, having killed a great number of the Enemy, and put to flight their King, which gained him the Title of Conqueror of the *Parthians*. His eldeſt Son the Cæſar *Baſſianus Antoninus*, of thirteen years of Age, was

upon this occaſion by the Army proclaimed a Partner in the Empire with his Father; and his younger Son, *Geta Antoninus*, was declared at the ſame time *Cæſar*. Wherefore. *Severus* gave to the Army a very large Donative, and all the Booty of the Town of *Cteſiphon*, according to their deſire, which they were become the Maſters of. From thence he returned a Conqueror into *Syria*. The Senate offered him the Honor of a Triumph; which he refuſed, becauſe he could not ſit in the Chariot, by reaſon of the Gout, which afflicted him. But he permitted his Son to receive it in his Place; to whom the Senate had decreed a Triumph in relation to the ſucceſſes over the *Jews*. For all things had paſſed well in *Syria*, as well as *Parthia*, under the Conduct of *Severus*. In fine, being come to *Antioch*, he granted to his eldeſt Son the *Roman* Gown, and appointed him to be Conſul with himſelf. Accordingly they both entred upon their Conſulſhips in *Syria*. After which, having gratified the Army with a Bounty upon that Subject, they took their way to *Alexandria*.

Refuſes a Triumph.

In this Expedition he made a great many Laws to Eſtabliſh the Rights of the People of *Paleſtine*. He forbad Men to turn *Jews*, under a great penalty, and he made the like Ordinances as to the Chriſtians. He granted to the City of *Alexandria* the Privilege of a Senate; beſides which he changed their Laws in ſeveral things. He was much pleaſed with his Voyage into theſe Parts, to ſee the Worſhip of the God *Serapis*, and becauſe of the ſingular ſtrangneſs

neſs of the Animals, and places which he ſaw here. He viewed *Memphis* and *Memnon*, the Pyramids and the Labyrinth, with great Care and great Satisfaction.

It would be too tedious to purſue the Life of this Prince in Matters of a leſſer Note. Therefore his diminiſhing the Power of the Pretorian Guards at *Rome*, after *Julianus* was conquered and killed, and his conſecrating *Pertinax* a God, contrary to the Will of the Soldiers, were bold and great Actions. He ſeems to have deſerved the Name of *Pertinax*, (which once he aſſumed) not ſo much for his Affection to *Pertinax* the Emperor, as for the auſterity of his manners, and his own pertinaciouſneſs in what he did. As one of the Enemy, who was taken had caſt himſelf humbly at his Feet, and ſaid to him; *Sir, what would yourſelf have done in my place?* He not at all ſoftened with ſo prudent an Expreſſion, commanded him to be killed without remorſe. He was bent upon utterly extirpating the Parties that were againſt him, and almoſt from no place did he come off leſs than Conqueror.

He conquered *Abgarus*, the King of *Perſia*. The *Arabians* yielded themſelves under his Obedience. He made the *Adiabeni* Tributary to him. He fortified *Great Britain*, which is the greateſt Ornament of his Reign, with a Trench drawn croſs the Iſland, from the one Ocean to the other, from whence he received the Title of *Conqueror of the* Britains. He put his Native Country of *Tripoli* into a Condition of the greateſt Security, and a laſting *His other Succeſſes.*

Peace, by ſubduing thoſe moſt Warlike Nations, which lie all about it; for which the *Tripolines* in return, preſented him with Oyl and Corn, every Year in abundance; and gave for that purpoſe ſome fruitful Fields for ever to the People of *Rome*. As he was of a Temper to be implacable towards ſuch as tranſgreſſed their Duty; ſo on the other hand, he was of a ſingular good Judgment in making Choice of Perſons to ſerve him, who were Men of Fidelity. He was much addicted to the Studies of Philoſophy and Eloquence, and had a deſire to know the reſt of the Sciences. He was a mortal hater of Robbers. He writ his own Life himſelf faithfully, as he was a private Man, and as he Emperor; in which however, he excuſes as much as he can, the Fault of his Cruelty. The Senate gave this Judgment upon him, that either he ought never to have been born, or he ought never to die. Becauſe he ſeemed at once to be too Cruel to keep, and too uſeful to loſe.

His Wife ſuſpected.

In the mean time, as to his Affairs within his own Family, he was not ſo very Prudent. For the Virtue of his Wife *Julia* was much to be ſuſpected. She was alſo an Accomplice in a Conſpiracy that was form'd againſt him, yet he ſpared her, and kept her with him. Whilſt he lay lame of the Gout in his Feet, which retarded the Operations of the War, which the Army bore impatiently, they had nominated his Son *Baſſianus*, to march as Emperor at the Head of them. *Severus* immediately upon this, called a Council of War, to which, cauſing himſelf to be taken

taken up, and carried and placed upon the Tribunal; and having cited to it all the Tribunes, Centurions, Captains, and the principal Officers of the Army, that had been the Authors of that Action, together with his Son; he demanded of them all, *Whether they were returned to their Duty?* who all, except his Son, whom he had pardoned, proſtrating themſelves before him for Mercy; ſays he, *I hope now you are ſatisfied, it is the Head that rules, and not the Feet.* Another very remarkable Expreſſion of his, is, being one whom Fortune had raiſed from a low Birth by ſeveral degrees to the Empire, with the Aſſiſtance of Letters, and the Knowledge that he had acquired in Arms; ſays he, *I have been all things, and all's worth nothing.*

He died at *York* in *Great Britain*, in an advanced Age, and the Eighteenth Year of his Reign, of a very violent Malady, the Gout, after having ſubdued the Nations which were troubleſome to the Repoſe of that Country. He left Two Sons, *Antoninus Baſſianus* and *Geta*, to which latter he gave the ſame Name of *Antoninus*, in Honour of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus.* He was interred in the Sepulchre of *Marcus Antoninus*, for whom of all the Emperors, he had that Honour, and held his Memory ſo dear, that he conſecrated even his Son *Commodus Antoninus* a God, and thought that for the future, the Name of *Antoninus* ought to be inſeparable from the Perſon of the Emperor, as well as that of *Auguſtus*, for ever. The Senate, his Children, and thoſe of his Family, joyned to make a magnificent Funeral for

His Death.

for him, and he was likewiſe enrolled in the Number of the Gods. The publick Works of his that are extant, are chiefly theſe; the *Septizonium*, his Baths, and his *Fani*. The Judgment that was paſſed upon him after his Death was ſo much the more to his Honour, as his Son, and thoſe Princes that came after, proved unfortunate to the State; when all things were abandoned into the Hands of Robbers, that made a Prey of all the Grandeur and the Riches of the *Romans*. He was ſo little curious of fine Cloaths, that his Veſt had ſcarce any Studs of Purple upon it; and over that, he wore a looſe ſhagged Coat. He eat little, and loved above all things the Peaſe, Beans, and Pulſe of his own Native Country; he ſometimes drank pretty freely; often quite abſtained from fleſh.

His Perſonage. He was handſome as to his Perſon; big, with a long Beard; his Hair naturally curl'd; of an awful Countenance; a ſweet Voice, but ſomething of an *African* Tone with it to the laſt. After his Death, he was more beloved than ever he had been during his Life; becauſe People then had ceaſed to envy him, and becauſe they were out of the fear of his Cruelty.

I remember, I have read in *Ælius Maurus*, the manumitted Servant of *Phlegon* of *Tralles*, that this Prince, when he died, rejoyced infinitely, that he left behind him two Sons of the Name of *Antoninus* to ſucceed in the Empire, and to be of equal Power with one another, after the Example of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*, who was ſucceeded at once by *Marcus Antoninus* and *Verus Antoninus*, who yet

yet being the Sons of that Prince but by Adoption; it pleaſed *Severus* ſo much the more, to think that his two Sons were his own, and derived of his own Blood; that is, *Baſſianus Antoninus*, whom he had by his firſt Wife, and *Geta Antoninus*, whom he had by *Julia*. But he was much miſtaken in his good hopes as to them both. The untimely Murder of the one, and the Vices of the other equally deprived the State of reaping any Good by them.

And really when I have ſometime reflected upon this, I have with aſtoniſhment obſerved, may it pleaſe your Majeſty O *Diocleſian*, that ſeldom any of the great Men have ever left a good and an uſeful Son behind them. But either they have died all without Iſſue, or if they have had Children, their Children have been ſuch, that it had been better for their Glory to have left none at all. To begin with *Romulus*, he left the World no Children; nor *Numa Pompilius*, who were of any Service to the State. What ſhall I ſay of *Camillus*? Had he any Children like himſelf? What had *Scipio*? What had the *Cato's*, who were all ſuch great Men? What ſhall I ſay of *Homer*, *Demoſthenes*, *Virgil*, *Saluſt*, *Terence*, *Plautus*, and ſo many other excellent Perſons? What ſhall I ſay of *Cæſar*? What ſhall I ſay of *Tully*? but that it had been much better, that he had left no Children neither. What ſhall I ſay of *Auguſtus* himſelf? who had not a good even adoptive Son, though he had all the World to chuſe out of. *Trajan* was alſo miſtaken in the Choice

Choice that he made of his own Country-man, and one of his own Blood. But to omit any more adoptive Sons for the ſake of *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus Antoninus*, who were Two ſuch Divinities: What had been happier than *Marcus Antoninus*, if he had not left *Commodus* his Heir? what more Glorious than *Septimius Severus*, if he had never begotten *Baſſianus*? who murdered his Brother, for a Crime maliciouſly invented by himſelf, and then charged it upon him who married his Mother-in-Law, who was as good as an own Mother to him, and in whoſe Arms he had before killed her Son, his Brother; who killed *Papinian*, that Sanctuary, that Treaſure of all the Doctrine of the Laws, only becauſe he would not juſtify ſo cruel a Fratricide. Therefore in compariſon with this Son, *Severus* the Father, though he was in all Reſpects a hard, or rather a cruel Prince, was accounted Pious, and worthy of the Conſecration of a God; who as he lay on his Death-Bed, ſent, they ſay, to this his Son, that Divine Oration in *Saluſt*, of the King *Micipſa* to his Children. But it was ſo quite loſt upon *Baſſianus Antoninus*, that he lived long in the hatred of the People, to whom although he gave a Bounty of thoſe Coats called *Caracalla*, from whence himſelf hath the Name of *Caracallus*; and though he built thoſe Baths of his Name, which are very Magnificent, yet that Holy and Venerable Stile of *Antoninus*, became much the leſs beloved for his ſake. He, as we are told, built beſides the Portico which is at *Rome*, with very

very great Splendor, in which there are repreſented, the memorable Exploits of *Severus* his Father.

The Signs fore-running the Death of the Emperor *Septimius Severus*, were theſe. He dreamt, that he was carried up to Heaven in a Chariot, drawn by four Eagles, and enrich'd with precious Stones, and I know not what large humane Form flying before him: that as he was elevated in the Air, he diſplay'd the Numbers Eighty Nine, beyond which Age preciſely he did not live; for he was already old, when he came to the Empire. Then that he continued a long time alone and deſtitute of help, in a great Circle by himſelf, till at laſt, fearing to fall to Earth again, he ſaw himſelf called by *Jupiter*, and placed amongſt the *Antoninuſſes*. One day whilſt the Games of the Cirque were celebrating, as there were three Figures of Victory, with Palms in their hands placed according to Cuſtom upon the Platform where the Emperor's Throne is; that in the middle bearing a Globe, on which was inſcribed the Name of *Severus*, was blown down with a blaſt of Wind to the Ground, and there lay. The other, which was inſcribed with the Name of *Geta*, fell, and was broken to pieces; but that which was inſcribed with the Name of *Baſſianus* ſtood, but with much ado, and loſt its Palm-branch in the Wind. After he had finiſhed his Wall or Trench in *Great Britain*, and was returning to the next Garriſon victorious, having hereby aſſured the Peace of that Country for ever, he was thinking

Signs fore-running his Death.

ing

ing in his mind, what ſort of Omen he ſhould meet with upon it; a *Black-moor* who was of the Number of his Soldiers, and who was a famous Droll, always ready to make ſome pleaſant piece of Rallery, preſents himſelf before him, with a Crown in his hand made of Cypreſs; *Severus* in anger, commanded him immediately to retire out of his ſight, being ſenſibly touched with the double ill Omen of his Hew, and the Matter of his Crown. In the mean time ſaid the Man, *Your Majeſty hath been all Things, and conquered all Things, now be a God.* Being afterwards returned to the City of *York*, and going to diſcharge his Devotion, he was conducted by a miſtake of an Augur, into a Temple of *Bellona*, and next the Beaſts which were preſented to him to Sacrifice, were black: But he refuſing to Sacrifice in that colour, retired to the Palace, and the ſame black Victims being left neglected by the Prieſts, went after him as far as to the Gates of the Palace.

His publick Works. In a great many Cities there are Works which he ordered to be done, which are excellent; but particularly at *Rome*, all the publick Edifices which were decaying by old Age, and the courſe of time, he reſtored, and which was a great Action in him, without ſcarce ever inſcribing his own Name upon one of them, but every where continuing upon them the Names of their antient Founders. At his Death he left in the publick Stores, Corn to ſerve for Seven Years to come, at the rate of expending Seventy Five Thouſand *Modii* a day, whereof each

each *Modius* was a Peck and half. And for Oyl, he left ſuch a Quantity, as was ſufficient not only for the City of *Rome*, but all *Italy* upon occaſion, for Five Years. They ſay that his laſt Words were theſe; *I found the State when I received it, every where in Diſturbance. I leave it in Peace even to the* Britains. *Old and Lame, as I am, I leave the Empire firm to my Sons, if they are good: But in a feeble Condition for them, if they are bad.* The laſt Watch-word which he ordered to be given to the Tribune, was, *Laboremus*, let us take Pains; as that of *Pertinax*, the firſt day that he was admitted to the Empire, was, *Militemus*, let us fight. He had deſigned a ſecond Royal Image of Fortune to be made and added to that which always ſtands in the Emperor's Chambers, and is uſed to accompany them in all Places where they go; he deſired to leave of thoſe moſt ſacred Figures, to each of his Sons one. But when he found himſelf preſſed with the approaching hour of his Death, it is ſaid, he ordered that that Image of Fortune, which there was, ſhould be carried alternatively into the Chambers of his Two Sons; but *Baſſianus Antoninus* ſlighted that Order, even before he had killed his Brother.

His Body was brought from *Great Britain* to *Rome*, where it was received with the greateſt Reverence of all the Provinces; though ſome ſay, it was only his Aſhes which were brought to *Rome*, repoſed in a little Urn of Gold, which was interred in the Sepulchre of the *Antoninuſſes*; and that the Body was burnt upon

on the place where he died. When he built the *Septizonium*, he had no other Deſign in it, but to make appear the Magnificence of his Work, to the Eyes of thoſe, who particularly ſhould come out of his Native Country of *Africa*; and if he had not been prevented, it is ſuppoſed, he would have made a ſtately *Intrado* from thence to the Palace Royal; as afterward the Emperor *Alexander Severus* would have done, but that the Soothſayers prohibited him, for Reaſons in their Art.

THE

A Christi CXCIV.

THE

LIFE

OF

PESCENNIUS NIGER,

Dedicated to the

EMPEROR *DIOCLESIAN.*

BY

ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS.

IT is a difficult thing, and such as we rarely see done, to publish to the World a just Account of Persons who die under the Notion of Rebels and Usurpers, by being Conquered, and because they are concluded so by another Person's Victory. All the Circumstances

cumſtances of ſuch are ſcarce ever fully expreſſed in the Monuments, and the Annals of the Antients; for that which is great of them, and to their Honours, is either generally depraved and turned another way, or it is ſuppreſſed. Neither is there ſo much Care taken to ſeek into the things that concern their Origine and their Lives, as to recount their Ends. For when they have brought them to that, and told the War, in which they were overcome, and how they ſuffer'd for the boldneſs of their Attempts, they perſuade themſelves they have ſaid enough about them. Thus *Peſcennius Niger* was, as ſome ſay, born of very ordinary, as others, of honourable Parents; that is, the latter ſay, that his Father was *Annus Fuſcus*, his Mother *Lampridia*, his Grandfather the Curator of the Town of *Aquino*; according to which, his Family was of the Equeſtrian Order: but yet this is a thing which at this day, others will diſpute. His Inſtruction in Letters was but indifferent, no more than was his Eſtate. His manner of Life was moderate; his Temper hot enough; but particularly of an unbridled Paſſion to Liberty. He was a long time a Centurion, and afterwards through ſeveral other Commands in the Wars, came to be the General of the Forces in *Syria*, unto which the Emperor *Commodus* had preferred him, by the Credit and the recommendation chiefly of that very Perſon, as all things went at that time, who afterwards ſtrangled *Commodus*.

His Extraction.

After

After the Death of *Commodus*, and the Death alſo of his Succeſſor *Pertinax*, *Peſcennius Niger* ſet up for the Empire upon the Authority of the ſame Forces of *Syria*; encouraged to it from *Rome*, where *Didius Julianus*, who had ſucceeded to *Pertinax*, was ſo hated by the People, that they publickly curſed him, and threw Stones at him, and prayed, that the Gods would give them *Niger* to be their Prince, and *Niger* to come to the Succour of the City. Hereupon *Julianus* ſent a Centurion with Orders to bring him the Head of *Niger*, which was a very imprudent Fancy indeed, as if it was ſuch an eaſie matter for a ſingle Centurion to make himſelf the Maſter of one, who was at the Head of a puiſſant Army, and could very well maintain himſelf. With the ſame imprudence it was that he propoſed to take off the Head of *Severus*, after he had already been declared Emperor, and to ſend a Man to command in his place. For he had ſent the known Aſſaſſine, *Aquilius* a Centurion, to him to kill him; as if ſo powerful a General, was ſo eaſily to be killed by a Centurion. But yet all this was as Judicious, as his pretending to prohibit *Severus* from the Empire by Law, becauſe himſelf was in the prior Poſſeſſion of it.

He is belov'd by the People

In fine, the Inclinations of the People towards *Peſcennius Niger*, and their averſion to *Julianus*, appeared ſufficiently in this; that whilſt *Julianus* was Entertaining them with the Games of the Cirque; even then, they called upon the Name of *Peſcennius Niger*, and wiſhed publickly for his coming to the

Succour of the City. Upon which occaſion *Julianus* it is ſaid pronounced theſe Words, *That if they had him, he would not Reign long over them, no more than himſelf.* But *Severus*, he ſaid, *might, though he was the moſt of all to be hated by every body*; which in the event proved true.

Befriended by Severus.

Now in the time that *Severus* was the Lieutenant of the Province of *Lugdunum* in *Gallia*, *Peſcennius Niger* and he had contracted a very great Friendſhip with one another; inſomuch, that the latter having acquitted himſelf in ſome Actions there with a great deal of Bravery and Honeſty againſt the Enemy; he rendred himſelf ſo perfectly agreeable to *Severus*, that *Severus* recommended him to the Emperor *Commodus*, and engaged for him, as a Perſon that was neceſſary to be employed in the State. And certainly he was a very good Soldier, and underſtood the Diſcipline of War perfectly well. He never ſuffered his Men to extort from their Quarters in the Provinces, Wood or Oyl, or any manner of Service. He never made Gain to himſelf out of their Pay; nor when he was a Tribune, did he ſuffer the other Officers to do ſo: And after he was ſet up to be Emperor, he commanded two Tribunes who were guilty of making Advantages to themſelves out of the Pay of their Soldiers, to be ſtoned to Death.

A LETTER of *Severus* himſelf, written to *Ragonius Celſus* the Governour of *Gallia*, ſays thus of him.

IT is a miſerable thing, that we cannot imitate the Military Diſcipline of him whom we have overcome in the Field; whereas your Men do nothing but ramble here and there; the Tribunes are Bathing themſelves at Noon day, Dine in Taverns, and Lye in Inns; Dance, Drink and Sing, and call this the only Rule that they have, that they Drink without all Rule. Certainly, ſhould theſe Things be, if we had the leaſt Vein of the Diſcipline of our Fore fathers in us? Firſt therefore, correct the Tribunes, and then you will amend the Soldiers; who will no longer ſtand in fear of you, if you are in fear of them. You may know this by Peſcennius Niger, *that the Soldiers will never be kept to their Duties, unleſs the Tribunes and the Captains that are over them, approve themſelves before them, good and virtuous Men.* *Letters in his Favour*

So much the Emperor *Severus* owned concerning his Rival *Peſcennius Niger*, of whom he had gotten the Victory. The Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* hath a Letter to *Cornelius Balbus* concerning him, which ſays thus.

YOU commend Peſcennius *to me. I know him. For your Predeceſſor told me, that he was a brave Man, of an honeſt Life; and that he was worthy to be promoted to a higher Station. So I have ſent Letters, which are to be read at the Head of the Troops, wherein I have ordered him the command of a body of Three Hundred* Armenians, *One Hundred* Sarmatians, *and One Thouſand of our own Men. It is for you to tell them, that it is not the Ambition of* Peſcennius, *becauſe this is not conſonant with our Principles; but it is his Valour and good Manners, which hath raiſed him to that place, that my Grandfather* Hadrian, *and my great Grandfather* Trajan *did never beſtow, but upon Perſons of whoſe Merits they were moſt aſſured.*

The Emperor *Commodus* ſays thus of the ſame Perſon.

Peſcennius, *I know, he is a Valiant Man; I have employed him Twice as a Tribune, and in a little time, I will advance him to be a General, as ſoon as the old Age of* Ælius Corduenus *engages him to quit the Service of the State.*

Theſe were the Opinions of all Perſons therefore about him. *Severus* had often ſaid, he would give him his Life with all his heart, if he would deſiſt from his Enterpriſe. He was made Conſul by the Emperor *Commodus*, who in that point gave him the precedence even to *Severus*, at which *Severus* was diſobliged.

Severus

Severus ſays in his own Life, that before that his Sons were come to be of an Age to ſucceed him, he had intended when he was ſick, if he had died, to appoint before all others *Peſcennius Niger*, and *Clodius Albinus* to be his Succeſſors; though afterwards they were both the one and the other his greateſt Enemies. But however, this is an Argument of the good Opinion that once *Severus* had of *Niger*.

If we may believe *Severus*, *Peſcennius Niger* was a Man ambitious of Glory, of a Life cloſe and reſerved, and of an advanced Age, when he invaded the Empire; from which laſt Circumſtance he takes the Liberty to blame him, as if himſelf had come to the Empire much younger; whereas he reigned but Eighteen Years, or thereabouts, and yet died at the Age of Eighty Nine. At the ſame time that *Severus* ſent *Heraclius* into *Bithynia* to ſecure that Country, he ſent *Fulvius* to go and get into his Cuſtody the Children of *Peſcennius Niger*, who were then in the Flower of their Youth. He took no notice at all of their Father to the Senate, but immediately began an Expedition to compoſe the State of the *Eaſt*. But withal, he commanded ſome Legions into *Africa*, to prevent that *Niger* ſhould not poſſeſs himſelf of that Quarter, and thereby afflict the People of *Rome* with a want of the Corn from thence. For though the Paſſage both by Sea and Land was difficult, yet it did not ſeem impoſſible for *Niger* to do this, eſpecially if he took his way through the Countries of *Egypt* and *Libya*.

In the mean time, *Niger* was in the poſſeſſion of *Greece*, *Thracia* and *Macedonia*, when *Severus* came againſt him into the *Eaſt*. He propoſed to *Severus*, that they might be Partners in the Empire, with one another, but this was ſlighted; on the other hand, *Severus* offered him his Life in Exile, but this *Niger* ſlighted. So whereas he had put to death ſeveral illuſtrious Perſons, *Severus* declared him, together with *Æmilianus*, an Enemy. Then the Captains of *Severus* engaged firſt with *Æmilianus*, and beat him. After which they engaged with *Niger* himſelf, over whom having gotten the Victory, he fled, but mortally wounded; and being taken by a Lake, which is by the City of *Cizique*, and brought in the Condition that he was in to *Severus*, he expired preſently after.

He is defeated and ſlain.

His Head was carried about upon a Spear, and ſent to *Rome*; his Sons killed, his Wife killed, his Eſtate confiſcated, and his whole Family extinguiſhed. But yet it was not till after the News of the Rebellion of *Clodius Albinus*, that all this was done; becauſe till then, the Baniſhment of his Wife and Children had contented *Severus*; who was made much worſe, and much more unmerciful, than he was in this, by the next War he had with *Clodius Albinus*; for then he ſlew an infinite number of Senators, and ſome called him an *African Sylla*, ſome a *Marius*, for all that civil Blood which he ſpilt.

Peſcennius

Peſcennius Niger was very tall, and well made as to his Perſon; his Hair curling up to his Ears, a Voice ſo very clear and ſtrong, that he could make himſelf to be heard, when he ſpoke in the Camp, if the Wind was not againſt him, a Mile; a modeſt Countenance, apt to bluſh; rather fat than meager; loved a Glaſs of Wine, eat but little; never lay with his Wife but to Conception, and then he abſtained, which made him when he was in *Gallia*, be publickly celebrated for his Chaſtity. In the Arch of the Gallery which is in the Gardens of *Commodus*, we have to this day his Picture done in *Moſaick* Work, amongſt the great Friends of that Prince, aſſiſting at the Myſteries of the Goddeſs *Iſis*. *Niger* was therefore a very Excellent Soldier, a Valiant Tribune, a Wiſe General, an Illuſtrious Conſul; happy in his Affairs at home and Employments abroad; but an unhappy Emperor. He might have been of great uſe to the State, under ſuch a Prince as *Severus*, if ſo be that he would have ſerved on his ſide. But he was miſled by the Counſels of *Scevus Aurelianus*, who had contracted his Daughters to his Sons, and who for that reaſon had urged him on, to perſiſt, as much as he could, to make the Empire his own. *His Perſonage.*

We may ſee how conſiderable a Man he was by this; that his Authority and his Credit at the Court was ſo great, that he writ firſt to the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, and afterwards to *Commodus*, when he perceived how much the Provinces were ruined by making

His Skill in Civil Affairs.

making too frequent changes in the Perſons who governed them; that in the firſt place, no Preſident, or Lieutenant, or Proconſul of a Province ſhould be ſucceeded by another, before the term of Five Years; that when that term was expired, the ſaid Magiſtrates ſhould give an Account, how they had adminiſtred the Power which they had been intruſted with; and then that no Perſons who were not of good Extractions, ſhould be admitted to ſerve in thoſe high Offices of State. Beſides this, it was a ſuggeſtion of his, that the Aſſeſſors attending upon the Governours and other Magiſtrates of the Provinces, to aſſiſt them in Counſel, ſhould be preferred in their turns unto the higheſt Honours; which was obſerved afterwards by the Emperor *Severus*, and thenceforward by many others, as appears by the Examples of *Paulus* and *Ulpian*, who had been both Aſſeſſors to *Papinian*, and were both of them afterwards, firſt employed in the Office of Secretaries, the one for the Diſpatches, the other for the Regiſters, and then ſoon after they were made the Captains of the Guards. It is alſo from him that no body is an Aſſeſſor to a Judge, but in his own Province; and that no one adminiſters that Charge at *Rome*, but what is a Native of the City. He added beſides, that there ſhould be Salaries appointed for certain Counſellors, that they might not be a Charge upon thoſe who were the Aſſeſſors, becauſe a Judge (he ſaid) was neither to give nor take any thing. As for the Soldiers, he was ſo

ſtrict

ſtrict upon thoſe, that when ſome of them who were in Garriſon upon the Frontiers in *Egypt* had asked him for ſome Wine, he anſwered, *You have the River* Nile *there, and do you ask me for Wine?* And certainly, the Water of that River is ſo ſweet and ſo pleaſant, that thoſe of the Country have no deſire at all to drink Wine. Others that had been beaten by the *Saracens*, murmuring, and being upon the point of a Sedition, ſaying, *We have had no Wine to drink, we cannot Fight.* He anſwered, *For ſhame, when thoſe that beat you drink Water!* The People of the Province of *Palæſtine*, praying, that the Tax which was upon their Lands might be abated, becauſe they cried they were overcharged; he made them Anſwer, *You would have the Tax taken off of your Lands, but I will tax your very Air that you breath.* *And Military Diſcipline.*

During that great Commotion of the State, when there were three Emperors ſet up at one and the ſame time, that is, *Septimus Severus*, *Peſcennius Niger*, and *Clodius Albinus*; the Oracle of *Delphos* was conſulted, which of them would be the beſt for the Publick to carry it. The Oracle anſwered in ſome obſcure Words in Greek, but which were underſtood to ſignify, that *Niger* was the beſt, *Severus* was well enough, and *Albinus* the worſt of the Three. After this, their Curioſity lead them to ask the Oracle, which of the Three then ſhould be the Perſon that ſhould at laſt carry it; the Anſwer was to this effect, *That the White and the Black*, that is, Albinus *and* Niger *ſhould be killed, and an* African *born* (which

Severus

Severus was) *should possess the Empire of the World.* Then they asked further, who should succeed that *African*, the Oracle answered, *That he should be one, who was of the Name of the* Pious. Which was not at all understood, till *Bassianus* the eldest Son of *Severus* assumed the Name of *Antoninus*, who was the only Person of the Title of the *Pious*, and then it was concluded to be meant of *Bassianus*. Lastly, it was asked, how long a time he, who of the Three Competitors carried the Empire, should Reign; and the Answer was to this effect,

In twice ten Ships he'll ride the Italian *Sea,*
Or from that Sail, let one deducted be.

That is, understanding by the *Italian* Sea, the *Roman* Commonwealth; it signified very plainly, that *Severus* should, as he did, Reign about Nineteen or Twenty Years.

This is what I humbly present before your Majesty, O *Diocletian*, who are the greatest of Emperors, concerning *Pescennius Niger*. I have collected it for the purpose out of several Writings, wherein he comes to be but occasionally mentioned. For as for the entire Lives of Persons, who either have not actually reigned, or have not been declared Emperors by the Senate, or perhaps have been killed before they have establish'd their Fame in the World, it is seldom, as I said in the beginning, that any body dares to write them. Which is the reason that we have none of the Life of *Vindex*, and that we know nothing of the Life of *Piso*; nor almost of all those who either have

have been only adopted to be *Cæſars*, and no more, or have been barely ſaluted Emperors by the Soldiers, and no more, as *Anthony* was under *Domitian*; or by being betimes killed, have preſently ended their Uſurpations, and their Lives together. But yet that I may not ſeem to omit any thing here, of what relates to this Perſon, that I can any where find, the Aſtrologers made this Remark upon him; that neither living nor dead, ſhould he fall into the hands of *Severus*, but that he ſhould periſh by the ſide of a Water. Some ſay, *Severus* himſelf had ſaid this of him, by his own Skill in Nativities. Nor was the Prognoſtication void altogether of Truth, for he was found half alive, and half dead by a Lake.

He had one day obſerved ſome Soldiers in an Expedition, drinking out of a Cup of Silver; whereupon he was ſo ſtrict, that he commanded that all Silver at ſuch times ſhould be caſt out of uſe, and that they ſhould drink out of Veſſels of Wood; which however, they did not very well like, becauſe he ſaid, it may poſſibly be, that the Baggage may fall into the Power of the Enemy; and he would not have it, that the Barbarians ſhould find any ſuch opportunity to ſet themſelves off with our Silver, when there are other things to be carried, which if taken, will give them a leſs occaſion of Glory. He ordered, that no Man upon an Expedition ſhould drink Wine, but that all ſhould content themſelves upon a day of Battel with Vinegar. He forbad *Bakers* to follow the Army, being not willing that the Soldiers ſhould *His ſtrict Orders.*

ſhould eat any thing that day but Bisket. For the ſtealing of one Pullet, he had ordered Ten Comerades, that were at the eating of it, tho' only one of them had ſtoln it, to loſe their Heads; which had certainly been executed, but that all the Army interpoſed for them, in a manner ſo high, that they were almoſt in a Mutiny; to prevent which, he moderated his Sentence, and ordered, that the Ten that had eaten together of the Theft, ſhould pay to the Country-man the Price of Ten Pullets, for that One that he had loſt. He ſuffered them not to make Fires to get themſelves any hot Meat, but cauſed them to be contented with dry Bread on ſomething that was cold, and ſet Spies upon them, to ſee that it was juſtly obſerved. He forbad the Soldiers, when they went to Battel, to keep any Gold or Silver about them in their Pockets, but to truſt it in ſuch ſafe and publick hands, as ſhould reſtore it again to them faithfully, after the Battel was over; or otherwiſe pay it to their Children, or Wives and Executors, who ſhould come to demand it; becauſe if any Blow of Fortune ſhould happen, yet he would have no Booty to fall into the hand of the Enemy. All which Orders, by reaſon of the diſſoluteneſs of the times of *Commodus*, gained him then but only ſo much the more ill will. For though no Man made an exacter Commander in his time, than he, yet it redounded rather to his prejudice, till after his Death; when Envy and Malice being laid aſide, ſuch ſort of Examples were valued.

Upon

Upon every Expedition that he took, he eat himſelf of the Soldiers Amunition-Bread, and Victuals in publick. He never wore any thing upon his Head to cover him, either againſt the Sun, or againſt the Rain, in which he had no Perſons like him. He ſet before them all an Example of Induſtry in himſelf and his Servants. For he impoſed Burdens of things upon the backs of his Servants, becauſe they ſhould not appear to walk at their eaſe, whilſt the Soldiers were loaded, which might make them envy them. He proteſted in a Speech that he made to them, that as long as he had been, or ſhould be ever employed in the occaſions of War, he ſhould behave himſelf as freely with them, as if he was a private Man: having always *Marius* and ſuch great Generals as he before his Eyes, and making his Diſcourſes always of *Hannibal* and the like. When a certain Perſon would have recited a Panegyric before him, upon his being ſaluted Emperor, he ſaid to him, *Write the Praiſes of* Marius *or* Hannibal, *or ſome ſuch excellent Captain that is dead; and tell us what he hath done, for us to imitate him in: But to praiſe the Living as a Jeſt, eſpecially Emperors; from whom there are expectations of all things on the one hand, and fears on the other. They can reward, protect, kill, proſcribe; as for me, I deſire only to pleaſe while I live; when I am dead, then praiſe me.* *His perſonal Hardſhips.*

Above all the Emperors, he loved *Auguſtus*, *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, *Trajan*, *Antoninus Pius*, and *Marcus Antoninus*. The reſt, he ſaid, were either

ther effeminate and ſhadows of Emperors, or they were Vipers. He always was particularly pleaſed with the Accounts in Hiſtory of *Camillus*, *Marius*, and *Quintus Martius Coriolanus*. Being asked what he thought of the *Scipio's*; he ſaid, *They were rather happy Men, than great Captains*; which he proved by their domeſtick Lives and their Youths, which were too looſe and too eaſie in the one and the other. Therefore it is a thing very evident, that if *Peſcennius Niger* had gained, and peaceably enjoyed the Empire, he was one who would have amended all things, which *Severus* either could not, or he would not amend; and all this without Cruelty. He would have done it, on the contrary, with great ſweetneſs, and yet in a manner becoming a Soldier, and without that lenity that is fooliſh and ridiculous. His Houſe is to be ſeen at this day at *Rome*, in the *Campus Jovis*, retaining his Name; in which, in one of the Rooms is his Statue, which was ſet up by *Statius Poſtumius* in the black Marble of *Thebes*, who had received it from the King of *Thebes*, who had cauſed it to be done to the Life. Upon the Baſis thereof is written an Epigram in Greek to this purpoſe; *Here ſtands the Great* Niger, *the Terror of Egypt, the Allie of* Thebes, *who had propoſed a Golden Age to all. Kings, Nations,* Rome *it ſelf loved him. He was dear to the* Antoninus's, *and to the whole Empire. As his Name was* Niger, (that is, Black) *ſo we have faſhioned him in Black, that the Statue and the Perſon ſhould correſpond. Severus* would never ſuffer this Inſcription

ſcription to be eraſed, altho' the Captains of his Guards, and others of his great Officers adviſed him to it. *For*, ſays he, *if* Peſcennius Niger *was ſo great a Potentate as this makes him, let the World know what a Man we have conquered; if he was not, let them however think, that we have conquered ſuch a Man.*

It remains, that now I proceed to an Account of *Clodius Albinus*, who was as it were the Companion of this Perſon, both in his Riſe and Fall. For they both in effect, revolted about the ſame time againſt *Severus*, and were both of them overcome and killed by *Severus*. But though the Fortune of *Clodius Albinus* was much what the ſame, and ran parallel with this of *Peſcennius Niger*, yet his Life was ſufficiently different.

T THE

THE LIFE OF *CLODIUS ALBINUS*,

Dedicated to the

EMPEROR *Conſtantine* the *Great*.

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

AFTER the Death of the Emperor *Pertinax*, who was killed by an Intrigue of *Clodius Albinus*, theſe Four Perſons were proclaimed Emperors, almoſt at one and the ſame time: *Didius Julianus* by the Senate at *Rome*, *Septimius Severus*

verus by the Army in *Illyricum*, *Peſcennius Niger* in the *Eaſt*, and *Clodius Albinus* in *Gallia*.

As for *Clodius Albinus*, he was, according to *Herodian*, declared by *Severus* in order to make him his Succeſſor, actually a *Cæſar*. But whilſt out of their Envy to one another, the one thought ſcorn of the other's Reign; and that the Army in *Gallia* on the one hand would not endure *Severus*, nor the Army in *Germany* on the other accept of *Clodius Albinus*, becauſe they were each for their own Prince; all things in all Parts went to confuſion.

His Extraction.

Clodius Albinus was of an Honourable *Roman* Family, although born of the Town of *Mabometa* in *Africa*. And being therefore originally an *African*, as well as *Severus*; he was willing to apply himſelf to the Oracle of *Delphi*, which we have before mentioned in the Life of *Peſcennius Niger*; and which ſaid, *That* an African *born ſhould poſſeſs the Empire of the World.*

But before I ſhall enter further into the Account of his Life or Death, I think fit to take in here a Paſſage, which is the thing of the World that renders him the moſt Noble. The Emperor *Commodus* had formerly written a Letter to him, in which he did him the Honour, ſo long ago, to conſtitute him a *Cæſar*. The Letter was this.

The Emperor *COMMODUS* to *Clodius Albinus.*

Letter of Commodus, *offering him the Title of* Cæſar.

BEſides the other Letters which I have ſent to you, relating to your Succeſſor, and the publick Buſineſs; this here is, as you ſee, all written with my own Hand; a familiar and domeſtick Letter; in which, I give you leave, when ever you ſhall ſee occaſion, to go to the Army, and aſſume to yourſelf before them the Name and Quality of Cæſar. *For I hear, that* Septimius Severus, *and* Nonius Marcus *have given ill Accounts of me to their Soldiers, with deſign, that they may by that means, pave themſelves a way to the Throne; ſo when you do this, you ſhall have free Power, of preſenting the Soldiers with a Donative of three pieces of Gold a Man. Accordingly, I have ſent Letters to my Receivers, which will come to you ſealed with the Seal of an* Amazon, *that when you have occaſion for that Money, you are to deliver to the ſaid Receivers thoſe Letters, leſt otherwiſe they may not ſerve you in your demands of Money belonging to the Treaſury. And for ſome illuſtrious Mark of the Majeſty of a Prince, for you to receive, you have the leave of wearing a Cloak of Scarlet, even in my preſence; the Purple you ſhall have when you ſhall come to viſit me, or to be with me, but without its being enrich'd with Gold, becauſe my Great Grandfather* Ælius Verus, *who died young, uſed it in this manner, when* Hadrian *adopted him* Cæſar.

But

But however, upon the receipt of this Letter, *Clodius Albinus* would by no means offer to take upon him to do what *Commodus* had appointed him, becauſe he was afraid of the Odium that *Commodus* was in, by reaſon of his Manners, by which he ruined the State, and diſhonoured it from day to day, killing the People with both Hands; and becauſe he was afraid beſides of being found ſome time or other in the number of thoſe whom he ſhould order to the ſame Maſſacre. In fine, his own Speech, which he made to his Army at the time that they ſet him up to be Emperor, takes notice of this; and likewiſe ſhews, that his advancement to the Empire was what was confirmed, or at leaſt was once pretended to be confirmed by *Severus* himſelf, when he called him his *Cæſar* and his Brother; the Speech was this.

My Fellow Soldiers,

TO ſhew you that it is contrary to my own Inclination, that I am elevated to the Empire, you cannot have a better Argument of it than this; that I contemn'd the offer of Commodus, *when that Prince would have created me his* Cæſar. *But I muſt obey this day your Will, and the Will of the Emperor* Severus. *And I doubt not, but under ſo Excellent and ſo Valiant a Prince as he is, the State will be happily gover[illegible]ed.*

Nor can it be d[illegible]ed, but that *Severus* did at firſt intend, as *Marius Maximus* ſays, if he had died early, to ſubſtitute *Peſcennius Niger*, and

Clodius Albinus to be his Succeſſors. But afterwards his own Sons growing up, whoſe Fortunes he had a deſire to make, and envying *Albinus* the love which he had amongſt the Senators, he changed thoſe Sentiments, and oppreſſed both *Albinus* and *Niger* by a War, upon which he was more eſpecially urged by the Entreaties of his Wife. This beſides he had done for *Albinus*, he made him a Conſul, which if he had not believed him to be an extraordinary Perſon, without doubt he would never have done; ſo very careful as he was, in the choice that he made of the publick Officers of the Empire.

But to return to the beginning of his Story. *Clodius Albinus* was born, as I ſaid, at the Town of *Mabometa*; but yet that which made him Honourable in the Eyes of all who knew him, was, that he derived his Deſcent from the *Roman* Family of the *Poſthumii*, and the *Albini Cejonii*, which is at this day very Noble, and hath been much augmented by the Benefactions of your moſt excellent Majeſty, O *Conſtantine*; and there is reaſon to believe, that your Majeſty will augment it yet much more, as formerly it received a great encreaſe from the Emperors *Gallienus* and the *Gordiani*. He was born but to a very ſmall Patrimony, of a Father, who was called *Cejonius Poſthumius*, and a Mother called *Aurelia Meſſalina*, to whom he was their firſt Child. When he was taken from the Birth, inſtead of having according to the uſual manner of other Children new-born, his Fleſh red, he was extreme white, and was therefore

therefore called *Albinus*. And that this is true, appears by a Letter of his Father ſent on purpoſe to notifie it to *Ælius Baſſianus*, the then Proconſul of *Africa*; who, as the ſame Letter ſignifies, was a Relation of the Family of the *Albini*, as well as he.

A LETTER of *Cejonius Poſthumius*, to *Ælius Baſſianus*.

I Had a Son born upon the 7th. of the Calends of December, *ſo white all his Body over; he was whiter than the very Linen that he was received in. I have therefore given him the Name of* Albinus, *and have dedicated him to the Family of the* Albini, *which is common to me with you. I wiſh you to love him, and to continue, as you do, to love the State, yourſelf, and us.*

He paſſed all his Infancy in *Africa*, took his Greek and Latin Learning pretty well, but had a Martial Heart, and was of a haughty Diſpoſition by Nature. Amongſt the little Boys of his Age, at School, he was often, they ſay, ſinging that Verſe of *Virgil*,

Arma amens capio, nec ſat rationis in armis.

repeating, eſpecially the firſt part of it, *Arma amens capio*, that is, *I am for being a Soldier right or wrong, and come what will.* They ſay,

Omens of his Advancement.

that ſeveral things happened after his Birth, which were ſo many Omens of his future Greatneſs. And certainly the ſame day there was born a Calf as white as Snow, with Horns upon his Head, of a deep purple; which Horns were a long time afterwards to be ſeen in the Temple of *Apollo* at the City of *Cumæ*, where himſelf had beſtowed them, when he was a Tribune. Enquiring at the ſame Temple one day of the Oracle about his Fortune, he was anſwered in theſe Verſes of *Virgil*,

Hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
Siſtet eques, ſternet, Pœnos Gallumque rebellem.

Accordingly, it is very true, as to what the latter Verſe ſays of the *Gauls*, that *Clodius Albinus* did ſubdue many Nations of them. Another Omen was this; whilſt he was a little Infant, a Fiſher-man happened to take a Tortoiſe which was of a very great bigneſs, and made a preſent of it to *Albinus*'s Father; who being a Perſon of ſome Learning, and looking upon it as a good Sign, accepted it, and ordered the Shell of it to be kept, and ſet apart for the uſe of his young Son to waſh in; becauſe it was a peculiar Cuſtom in the Imperial Family, for the young Princes to waſh in Shells of Tortoiſes. It was a rare thing, to ſee Eagles in that place, where *Clodius Albinus* was born; and yet upon the ſeventh Day after, which was appointed for the Solemnity of giving him his Name, ſeven young Eagles were taken out of a Neſt, and brought to the ſide

of

of his Cradle; which his Father, not rejecting the good omen, ordered to be well kept, and that they ſhould take great care of them.

Theſe things therefore, and ſuch others that occurred, were ſo many aſſured Preſages of his future Elevation; which are more particularly purſued by *Ælius Cordus*; to whom I muſt refer the Reader, if he ſhall deſire any further ſatisfaction.

He betook himſelf to the Army early in his Youth; and became known to the Emperors the *Antoninuſſes*, by the means of *Lollius Serenus*, *Bæbius Mætianus*, and *Cejonius Poſthumianus*, who were all related to him. He was ſome time a Tribune of *Dalmatian* Horſe. After that he commanded the Firſt and Fourth Legions. He kept the Army in *Bithynia*, which next he Commanded, very well to their Duty, in the time of the Rebellion of *Avidius Caſſius*. The Emperor *Commodus* tranſlated him from thence into *Gallia*, where after having defeated ſome Nations on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, he gained himſelf a famous name equally amongſt the *Romans*, and amongſt the Barbarians: inſomuch that it moved *Commodus*, to honour him the more, to offer him the Title of *Cæſar*, with the leave to preſent the Soldiers with a Bounty upon it, and to wear a Cloak of Scarlet in his preſence. All which he prudently, and with great ſatisfaction declined, as if he ſuſpected, that *Commodus*'s deſign was only to find Perſons, whom to involve in his own ruin, and whom to Maſſacre under ſome ſort of pretence.

His Military Preferments.

He

He had not ſerved in the Office of an Ædile above ten days, before he was made a Quæſtor, and ſent with precipitation to the Army: His Prætorſhip, which he paſſed under the Reign of *Commodus*, was very famous. For to the uſual Games, with which he entertained the People, *Commodus* himſelf added Fights, both upon the Theatre and Amphitheatre. Then the Emperor *Severus* made him a Conſul; which was done about that time, that he propoſed to have called him to his Succeſſion, in Conjunction with *Peſcennius Niger*.

He was advanced in years, and even older than *Peſcennius Niger*, as *Severus* ſays, when he was ſet up to be Emperor. The Senate had a more than ordinary kindneſs for him, becauſe of the Antiquity of his Family. Therefore *Severus* having changed his firſt Sentiments, as to the Honour that he had intended to *Peſcennius Niger* and him, and reſolving to preſerve the Empire to his own Children, and having beaten and killed *Peſcennius*, he in the next place ſent the following Letter to *Clodius Albinus*, which I have met with in *Cordus*, in theſe Words.

The Emperor *Severus* to *Clodius Albinus*, *Cæſar*, his moſt beloved and deareſt Brother, Greeting.

PEſcennius Niger *having been vanquiſhed by my Arms, I ſent my Letters of it to* Rome, *which the Senate, who have the greateſt Affection for you, received very agreeably. I deſire you to aſſiſt me in the Government of the State with the ſame Spirit, by which you make your ſelf to be ſo beloved; being now become the Brother of my Soul, and my Brother in the Empire.* Baſſianus *and* Geta, *ſalute you. My Wife* Julia *ſalutes you, and preſents her recommendations to her Siſter. Pray preſerve the Army in their Duty to the State, and to Us, my Soul, my Deareſt, my entirely Beloved.*

Now the Perſons who were ſent with this Letter by *Severus*, being ſuch as had the greateſt Affection for his Service, ſo that he knew he could confide in them; he ordered them to delivered it to *Clodius Albinus* in Publick: but when they had done, they ſhould ſay, that they deſired privately to ſpeak to him about ſome things, which were of the ſecrets of the Camp and the Court. And having taken him aſide, as if it were only to deliver what they were charged with, five ſtrong Men of their Retinue,

Treachery of Severus.

Retinue, having Ponyards hid under their Robes, ſhould fall upon him and kill him. And certainly they did not betray the Confidence impoſed in them; nor were wanting in their Endeavours to execute their Orders. For when they were come to *Albinus*, and had given him the Letter, which he Read, and had told him that they had ſome other things in particular to diſcover to him, which were to be ſpoken more privately, he took them apart into a long Gallery; but in the mean time they were ſo over-careful that no other Perſons ſhould follow them, pretending as if it were out of a fear leſt their Meſſage ſhould be diſcovered, that *Albinus* began to ſuſpect ſomething; upon which he immediately cauſed them to be ſeized, and put them to the Queſtion. Who at firſt denyed it; but being at laſt forced to yield to the violence of the Torment, they confeſſed then all that *Severus* had given in Charge to them. Wherefore, *Albinus* being ſatisfied in the juſt ſuſpition that he had conceived, gathered together a great Army, and put himſelf upon his March with them to make War againſt *Severus*, and againſt his Commanders.

In his firſt Engagement which he had with the Lieutenants of *Severus*, *Albinus* had certainly the better of it. After which *Severus* went in Perſon againſt him, having firſt prevailed with the Senate to adjudge him an Enemy. They fought it very ſeverely on both ſides, in *Gallia*, not without always a great variety of Fortune; inſomuch that *Severus* was

ſo

ſo concerned at it, that he thought fit to conſult the Opinion of the *Augurs*; who anſwered him, as *Marius Maximus* ſays, that *Clodius Albinus* ſhould indeed fall into his Power, but it ſhould be neither living nor dead; and it was ſo. For when the laſt Battel was fought, *Albinus*, after an infinite number of his Men were killed, a great many others put to flight, and others taken Priſoners, fled himſelf; and whether it was that he ſtruck himſelf through the Body, or whether, as ſome ſay, one of his own Slaves, or ſome of the Soldiers did it, demanding ſome acknowledgment from him of *Severus*, I cannot ſay; but he was brought half alive, and half dead to *Severus*; which made good the Prediction. He left one Son, or as *Maximus* ſays two; to whom at the firſt *Severus* was pleaſed to ſhew favour; but afterwards he ordered them and their Mother to be kill'd, and their Bodies to be thrown into the River. The Head of *Albinus* was cut off, and carried about upon a Javelin, and then ſent to *Rome*; accompanied with Letters to the Senate, wherein *Severus* inſulted them for the Affection which they had a long time born to *Albinus*, and for the Honours and Kindneſſes that they had ſhewn to his Brother and his Relations: but eſpecially his Brother. His Body was expoſed in its Gore for ſeveral days before the Tent of *Severus*, till it ſtunk, and then it was torn into pieces by Dogs, and thrown into the River.

As for the Manners of *Clodius Albinus*, they are repreſented variouſly. *Severus* ſays, he was deformed with Vices; Malicious, Lewd, Wicked, *His Temper and Manners.*

ed, Diſhoneſt, Envious, and Luxurious. But it is to be obſerved, that it was in the time of the War with him, or after, that he ſpeaks ſo ill of him, which makes it the leſs to be believed. Becauſe before, he frequently ſent Letters to him as his particular Friend, and certainly many People had a much better Opinion than that of him. Beſides, that *Severus* himſelf, had once called him his *Cæſar*, and had ſet him the firſt before his Eyes for his Succeſſor. There are alſo ſome Letters of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* concerning him, which give a great Teſtimony of his Virtues and Manners. One of which, written to the Captains of the Guards, it will not be improper, I think, to inſert here.

Antoninus *his good Opinion of him.*

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, to the Captains of the Guards, Greeting.

I *Have committed two Cohorts to the Command of* Albinus, *of the Family of the* Cejonii; *he is an* African *born, it is true; but he hath not many things in him of that Country, and he is the Son-in-Law of* Plautillus. *A Man of Experience, of a ſerious Life, and Grave in his Manners. I think he will do good in the Camp. I am ſure he will do no hurt. I have doubled his Salary, and quadrupled his other Allowances: Do you encourage him to ſignalize his Services; and aſſure him he ſhall be rewarded as he deſerves.*

Another

Another Letter, which the ſame Prince writ in the time of *Avidius Caſſius* concerning him, is this.

THE Fidelity of Albinus *is to be commended: who when the Forces in* Bithynia *were upon the Revolt, and upon flying over to* Avidius Caſſius, *(as certainly they had all done, if he had not been with them) was very careful in preſerving them in their Duty. We think therefore that he deſerves a Conſulſhip. I ſhall accordingly ſubſtitute him in the place of* Caſſius Papirius, *who I am told is ſo ſick, that there is no appearance of his Recovery; But I would not have you to take notice of it, before he is dead; leſt it may come to the Ears either of* Papirius *himſelf, or his Friends; which would not look ſo well.*

Theſe two Letters therefore make it appear that *Clodius Albinus* was an uſeful Perſon. And certainly his ſending of Money towards the reſtoration of thoſe Cities, which had been laid waſte by *Peſcennius Niger*, is another great Argument of a Publick Spirit, and what had gained him Friends amongſt the Inhabitants there. *Ælius Cordus*, pretends at the ſame time to ſay, that he was ſuch a Glutton, that particularly he would eat more Fruit at a time, than it is poſſible to imagine. He ſays, that

that he has eaten, at a Breakfaſt five hundred Figs, one hundred Peaches, ten Melons, twenty Bunches of Grapes, a hundred of the little Birds called *Beccafico's* or Fig-Peckers, and four hundred Oiſters. But yet he ſays that he drank but little; in which *Severus* does not agree with him: for he tells us that he drank to exceſs, even in the time of the War. And whether it was becauſe of this his great drinking, which *Severus* charges him with; or becauſe of his Moroſeneſs of Humour, it is ſaid, he never lived well with his Family: but was very diſagreeable to his Wife, and unjuſt to his Servants; as well as hard upon the Soldiers. As to which latter, he many times crucified Centurions, when there hath been as good as no occaſion given for it. He beat others often with Rods, and pardoned not the leaſt fault. He was proper in his Cloaths, and as improper in his Repaſts; in which he minded nothing but Abundance. He was a great lover of a Miſtreſs, but not at all of a Bardaccio; being ſo far from that, that he ſeverely puniſhed it upon ſuch as were. He was perfectly well skilled in Agriculture; inſomuch that he writ a Book of *Georgicks*.

He was as much beloved by the Senate as any Prince ever was: but the great occaſion of it was, their mortal hatred to *Severus*, which they had againſt him upon the account of his Cruelty. Therefore as many of them, as either were, or ſuch as were but ſuſpected to have been of *Albinus*'s ſide, he put to death after the Victory. He ordered the Letters of *Albi-*

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nus to be ſearched, to diſcover his Correſpondents: and all that he found whatever, he firſt cauſed them to be declared Enemies by the Senate; then put them without mercy to death, and Confiſcated their Eſtates into the Treaſury.

There is a Letter, which he writ to the Senate, that ſhews his very Soul, as to theſe things; a Copy whereof is as follows.

CAN *any thing oblige me more, Fathers of the Senate, than to hear that* Albinus *ſhould have your good Opinions, rather than* Severus. *With great care I have furniſhed the State with Corn, and have maintained ſeveral Wars for the State, and have ſupplied the People of* Rome *with more Oil than the World ſcarce ever beheld: and by my overcoming* Peſcennius Niger *I have delivered you from the miſeries of a Tyranny. Indeed you have made on your part a great return to me for all this. For here's a Man, who is not only an* African *as my ſelf, but one of the poor Town of* Mahometa, *and only becauſe he pretends to derive his blood from the* Roman Cejonii, *you have extolled him ſo far, that you would have him to be your Emperor, whilſt as yet I am upon the Throne, and my ſelf and my Children are in ſafety. Was the noble Senate at a loſs I pray, for a Prince whom you ought to love, and who loves you? Becauſe from this Man you hope perhaps to be made Conſuls, to be made Prætors, and what not, therefore you*

have for your better Intereſts in him conferred Honours upon his Brother. Which is not to make that return to me, as was formerly done by your Anceſtors againſt the Faction of Piſo; *nor as it was lately done to the Emperor* Marcus Antoninus *againſt the Rebellion of* Avidius Caſſius. *But you have preferred a Man to me, who is a deceiver, who tells you nothing but lies, and does but impoſe upon you in the matter of his Nobility.* Statilius Corfulenus *undoubtedly muſt be heard by the Senate to his Motion, that they would pleaſe to decree ſome Honours to* Albinus, *and to his Brother. In the mean time I ſhould think, that that Noble Perſon had forgot himſelf, that he did not decree a Triumph for me in my turn. It troubles me more than all, that ſo many amongſt you ſhould think that* Albinus *is to be commended for a Man of Letters, who ſpent all his time in* Apuleius, *and thoſe Ludicrous Pieces, which are no better than ſome Ditties of the old Wives.*

By this it is to be ſeen how eager *Severus* was, and how he always blamed the Factions both of *Peſcennius Niger*, and of *Clodius Albinus*; of all which, if any one deſires a more particular account, let him read *Marius Maximus* for the Writers in the Latin Tongue, and *Herodian* for the *Greek*, who have delivered a great many things very faithfully.

His Perſonage. *Clodius Albinus* was Tall, his Hair naturally Curling, full Viſaged, but withal ſo wonderfully fair and clear in Complexion, that moſt thought he took the the name of *White*, that is,

Albinus

Albinus, from nothing elſe. He had an Effeminate Voice, as ſhrill almoſt as an Eunuchs. He had an eaſie meen; but yet he was ill to be angred, and worſe to be oppoſed. He was changeable in his Luxury; for many times he would Drink, and many times again Abſtain. He was perfectly brave for Arms; one may, not improperly, call him the *Catiline* of his time. As for what remains, it will not, I think, be amiſs to ſhew how it was that he gain'd himſelf ſo much of the love of the Senate. Whilſt he Commanded the Army in *Great Britain* by the orders of *Commodus*, a Report came, but yet it was falſe at that time, that that Prince was killed; upon which occaſion he came to the Head of the Army, and Harangued them thus. *Reaſon of his Popularity.*

If the Senate, and the People of Rome *had evermore retained their antient Empire; and that a State ſo great had never been ſubmitted to the power of a ſingle Perſon, there had been no* Vitellius, *no* Nero, *no* Domitian, *to have fallen by the Stroke of an Aſſaſſine. And then it was during the time of the Conſular Government, that thoſe Families flouriſhed, of the* Cejonii, *the* Albini, *and the* Poſthumii: *of whom your Fathers have many things to ſay, which they have heard from their Grandfathers before them. Certainly it was the Senate that annexed* Africa *to the* Roman *Empire. The Senate ſubdued* Gallia *and* Spain. *The Senate gave Laws to the Provinces of the Eaſt. The Senate had often attempted the*

Parthians, *and had reduced them, if ſo Covetous a General as* Craſſus, *had not then been at the Head of the* Roman *Army. It was when* Cæſar *was a Senator, that he conquered* Great Britain: *at leaſt he had not been declared Dictator then. And how much better had it been for* Commodus *himſelf, if he had ſtood in fear of the Senate. Their Authority held good, as far as to the times of* Nero; *being not afraid to Condemn that ſordid and impure Prince, nor to pronounce their Judgments againſt him, though he then had the full Power of Life and Death in his hands. Wherefore, my Fellow Soldiers, I for my part, who have had the Title of* Cæſar *conferred upon me by* Commodus, *renounce that pretenſion, and the Gods grant that others may do ſo too. Let the Senate Reign, and diſtribute the Provinces. Let the Senate make us Conſuls: or why do I ſay the Senate? Let your ſelves, and your Fathers. For your ſelves will alſo be Senators.*

This Speech was brought to *Rome*, whilſt *Commodus* was yet living; who was ſo moved by it againſt the Author, that he preſently ſent to turn him out, and gave his Place to *Junius Severus*, who was one of his Guards. However the Senate was pleaſed with the Speech, and as well before as after *Commodus* was killed, they honoured *Albinus* in his abſence with extraordinary Acclamations; ſo that ſome of them adviſed *Pertinax*, to take him for his Colleague in the Empire: in whoſe

whoſe ſudden Fall afterwards the Authority of this Perſon was very conſiderable; being provoked to it by a turn of Affairs, for the underſtanding of which I ſhall add a Letter of *Commodus* to his Captains of the Guards, wherein he ſignifies his mind as to the killing of *Clodius Albinus*, thus.

Aurelius Commodus, to the Captains of his Guards, Greeting.

I *Suppoſe you have heard, How that firſt of all it was pretended, that I by the Conſpiracy of thoſe about me was killed; and then that* Clodius Albinus *made an Harangue to my Soldiers upon that occaſion, in which he recommends himſelf mightily to the Senate, not without a deſign thereby, as I ſuppoſe, of advancing himſelf to the Empire. For he that is againſt the Government of the Empire by one Prince, and ſays that it ought wholly to be Governed by the Senate, ſeeks but to get the Empire to himſelf through the favour of the Senate. Look to him therefore very ſtrictly. For this ſhews he is a Man to be avoided as Death; and ſo are all ſuch who carry on deſigns to your prejudice.*

Now *Pertinax*, who was adviſed to chuſe *Albinus* for his Partner in the Empire, and did not do ſo, falling upon this Letter, publiſhed

it to bring an *Odium* upon the Perſon that he had thought fit to refuſe. In revenge whereof *Albinus* ſat ſo cloſe upon his Skirts, that he was the Author of the deſign againſt the life of *Pertinax*, in favour of the Succeſſion of *Didius Julianus*.

THE

A. Christi CCXII.

THE Life and Reign OF THE EMPEROR *Bassianus Antoninus Caracallus.*

By ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS.

THE Emperor *Septimius Severus* left two Sons, *Bassianus* and *Geta*. The first and eldest had the name given him of *Bassianus Antoninus*, and was Created a *Cæsar* by his Father; the other had the name given him of *Geta Antoninus*, and was declared a *Cæsar* by the Army. The first succeeded to enjoy the Throne; the other was quickly adjudged an Enemy, and murdered by his Brother: concerning whose Ancestors I think it in vain to make any repetition here, because I have said enough upon that Head, in the account of the Life of their Father.

His Character when a Youth.

Baſſianus Antoninus was when he was a youth and under the Tutelage of his Parents, endearing, ingenious, dutiful to them, obliging to all others, acceptable to the People, and to the Senate, and ready to offer at any thing to ingratiate himſelf. He was not ſlow at his Learning. He was not ſparing of his Bounty. He was not negligent in giving Marks of his Clemency. If he was preſent, whenever any condemned Perſons were thrown to the Beaſts, he either wept, or turned away his Eyes from the Sight, which was an extraordinary pleaſing thing to the People. When he was a Boy of ſeven Years old, and ſaw another Boy who was his Play-fellow beaten ſeverely for making profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion, he was a long time out of humour both with his own, and with the Boy's Father, and all ſuch as were the occaſion of the Boy's beating. He obtained that the Cities of *Antioch* and *Conſtantinople* ſhould be reſtored to their antient Rights, by his interpoſition in their behalf with his Father, under whoſe diſpleaſure they had faln, for aſſiſting in the Rebellion of *Peſcennius Niger*. He conceived a hatred againſt *Plautianus*, becauſe of his Cruelty. If his Parents had preſented him with things, as is uſual to do, about the Feaſts of *Saturn*, he gave them away again of himſelf to either his Maſters or his Servants. All which good Qualities made up his Carriage, when a Youth.

And when a Man.

But afterwards, as he grew more a Man, whether it was by the ſuggeſtions of his Father, or whether he did it of his own head, becauſe he

he thought to equalize himſelf with *Alexander* the *Great*, of *Macedonia*, he turned very reſerved and grave, and affected ſuch a fierceneſs in his Countenance, that many who knew him a Boy, could ſcarce believe him to be the ſame Perſon. He had always *Alexander* the *Great* in his Mouth. He was often in publick Company praiſing *Tiberius* and *Sylla*. He was prouder than his Father, who was one that was high enough, and he deſpiſed his Brother *Geta*, becauſe of his great Modeſty. Wherefore after the Death of his Father, he came to the Camp of the Guards, and complained that *Geta* had been in a Conſpiracy againſt him, for which he had cauſed him to be put to death in the Palace, and his Body to be immediately burnt. He told them particularly, that he had deſigned to poyſon him, and that he had been undutiful alſo to his Mother; concluding, that to engage them to be the more faithful to himſelf, he preſented them with a Bounty. There was another encampment at this time, near the City of *Albano*, where the Murder of *Geta* was highly reſented; all the Soldiers ſaying, that as it was to both the Sons of *Severus* equally, that they promiſed Fidelity, ſo they ought to keep to them both, refuſing to open their Gates; ſo that *Baſſianus* was a long time in getting entrance to them, nor could he cool them at laſt, but with the fineſt words and promiſes of what a prodigious Bounty he would give them, as this way ſeldom fails of quieting the Heats of Soldiers. From thence he returned to *Rome*, where he came to the

Puts his Brother to death.

Senate

Senate in a Cuiras under his Robes, and his Soldiers in Arms guarding him, whom he placed in Files in the middle betwixt the Seats, and made his Speech; in which he much complained of the evil designs of his Brother against his Life, to whom he said, to charge his Memory, and excuse himself, he had been so kind, and that he had denied him nothing, and had delivered him from the dangers that he had been in; but instead of having a due Sense of these Favours, he had attempted his Life, and had not answered his good Intentions. But yet he uttered all this confusedly, and with such an ill Grace, that the Senate did not very well accept what he said.

After this Speech, he declared, that it was his pleasure to restore all that were in exile to the Liberties of their Country again; and then from the Senate he return'd to the Guards, and lay in the Camp. The next day he came to the Capitol; from the Capitol he repair'd to the Palace-Royal, supported by *Papinian* and *Chilo*. In the mean time, those that he had a design to murder, he bespoke himself the most kindly to: He had observed the Mother of *Geta*, with other Women, weeping bitterly, and had it not been that he was restrained with the Sense, that it would make the Cruelty of his Brother's Murder look much worse, he was for putting them all to Death. He sent Poyson to *Lætus*, and obliged him to take it; who, as he was the first of those that had persuaded him to the Murder of *Geta*, was the first that fell a Sacrifice to his Ghost.

He

He afterwards often pretended to lament *Geta's* Death, and killed several that had been privy to it, and honoured his Memory and his Image. He had sent a Present to one, that was his Cousin German, an *African* by Nation, but the day before that he ordered him to killed; who throwing himself down from a Window to escape his Persecutors, broke his Leg, but yet had crept to his Wife, where they took him, and afterwards made a very sport of killing him. He put to death *Pompeianus*, the Grandson of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, and the Son of that *Pompeianus*, to whom *Lucilla* married, after the Death of the Emperor *Verus*, who had made him a Consul twice, and had intrusted him with the Command of his Armies in all his Wars. The way which he took to do this Murder, was, he ordered him to be set upon as it were by Thieves. *His many Cruelties.*

Papinian was executed in his presence by the Soldiers, with an Axe; and after it was done, he said to the Murderer, *You ought according to my Order, to have done it with a Sword.* *Petronius* was killed by his Command before the Temple of *Antoninus Pius*, and both the Bodies of the one and the other were dragged about the Streets, without any regard to humanity. He put to death the Son of *Papinian*, who but three days before had treated the City with a magnificent Shew, upon his entrance into the Office of a Questor. An infinite Number of others were killed upon the same days, who had favoured the side of *Geta*. The Servants that had waited upon him. In all places,

places, and in the very Baths, were there Maſſacres committed upon ſome as they were at their Suppers; amongſt whom was *Sammonicus Severus*, who is known by his many Learned Books. *Chilo* who was twice Captain of the Guards and Conſul, was in the greateſt danger, for only having adviſed the two Brothers to an agreement with one another. For the Soldiers had ſtript him, and were hurrying him away to the Execution when further Orders came to ſpare him. He put to death *Helvius Pertinax*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was the Son of an Emperor. He never ceaſed to kill, upon ſome occaſion or other, thoſe who had been his Brother's Friends. He frequently and proudly inveighed both againſt the Senate and the People, not forbearing to value himſelf one day, becauſe he was another *Sylla*.

Then he went into *Gallia*, whither he was no ſooner come, than he put to death the Proconſul of the *Narbonnoiſe*. He made ſuch a havock, and ſuch a confuſion amongſt the Magiſtrates of this Province, that he was as much hated, as the moſt outragious Tyrant ever was. Sometimes nevertheleſs he would diſguiſe his ſanguinary and cruel Nature, and pretend to be gracious. He did a great many things here againſt the Rights of the Country, and the People. And then he was taken with a great ſickneſs, and yet he was afterwards very Cruel to thoſe, who even recovered him. Next he prepared himſelf for an Expedition into the *Eaſt*, and ſo came into *Dacia*. He ſlew

His Dacian Expedition.

great

great Numbers of the Barbarians about the Country of *Rhætia*, encouraging on his Soldiers, and gratifying them with his Bounty, as if they were the Soldiers of a *Sylla*. He ſuffered not himſelf to be called indeed by the Name of any God, as *Commodus* was, whom they called a *Hercules*, becauſe of his killing a Lyon, and other Wild Beaſts. But having received a Victory over the *Germans*, he called himſelf *Germanicus*, without any regard to the nearneſs of that Name to *Germanus*, that is, his own Brother whom he had killed. And had he, he ſaid, overcome the *Lucani*, he would have been called *Lucanicus*, although it is a word which in another Senſe, ſignifies an Action of Diſhonour. He put to death ſuch as had but made Water in the place, where ſtand the Statues or the Images of the Emperor; or had taken off the Crowns from the Heads of any Images to place them elſewhere, or uſed Amulets about their Necks, for Charms againſt *Quartan* and *Tertian* Agues. He took his way by *Thrace*, in company with the Captain of the Guards; and thence croſſing the Sea into *Aſia*, his Sail-yard broke, and he was in danger to be wreckt, had he not gotten into the Pinnace, and ſo was taken into a ſtout Veſſel, where the Admiral was that convoy'd him. He often with his Sword in hand, hath ſtood a Combate with Wild-Boars. Once he fought a Lyon, of which he gloried much in his Letters, which he ſent to his Friends, and boaſted, that he was arrived to the Power of *Hercules*.

His Strength.

Coming

Coming into *Asia*, he applied himself to the matter of the War with the *Armenians* and *Parthians*, in which he appointed a General to command, who was of the same Kidney with himself. He went to *Alexandria*, where assembling the People together in the Schools, he made a sharp Speech to them, and commanded a draught of the stoutest Men to be made out of them for Recruits, as he pretended, for his Forces. But when this was done, he put them all to the Sword, after the Example of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, the Eighth of that Name, King of *Egypt*, who had practised the like Barbarity. At the same time, upon a signal given to his Soldiers, they fell every one upon his own Host and murdered him, and committed a vast slaughter throughout the City of *Alexandria*. Afterwards he marched against the *Parthians*, by the Borders of the People called *Caduſii*, and the Country of *Babylon*; and coming to a tumultuary Engagement with them, he let loose amongst them Wild Beasts; after which he sent his Dispatches about it to the Senate, to the end, to obtain the Title of Conquerer of the *Parthians*, as if he had gotten never so great a Victory. He was preparing himself for another Campaign, when going from the City of *Rhea* in *Mesopotamia*, where he wintered, to *Heren* or *Charan*, to assist at the Worship of the Moon, and by the way, alighting from his Horse to make Water, he was stabbed the same moment upon the Eighth of the Ides of *April*, being his Birth-Day, and the Festival of *Cybele*, by a Conspiracy

His Barbarities in Egypt.

ſpiracy, which was laid for the purpoſe by *Macrinus* the Captain of the Guards, who invaded the Empire after him. Thoſe who were privy to the ſame beſides, were *Nemeſianus*, and his Brother *Apollinaris*, and *Rhætianus* who commanded the ſecond Legion; nor was the deſign unknown to *Martius Agrippa* the Admiral, nor to a great many other principal Officers, who had been brought into it by the inſtigation, eſpecially, of one *Martial* a Centurion.

He was killed in the midway, betwixt the Cities of *Rhea* and *Heren*, where he had an occaſion to alight, as I ſaid, from his Horſe. The Guards were of the number of the Conſpirators; and ſo as the Quirry lifted him up to his Horſe again, he ſtruck him into the Body with a Dagger.

Now concerning the Death of *Papinian*, I know very well, that it is variouſly repreſented by a great many, as if they did not know the real cauſe it. However, I think fit to publiſh what to me ſeems to be the Truth, rather than I will be ſilent upon the Murder of ſo great a Perſon. *Papinian*, it is ſaid, was one in very great Favour with the Emperor *Septimius Severus*, to whom, ſome add, that he was ſomewhat akin by his ſecond Wife. Therefore *Severus* had recommended unto him the Care of his two Sons, whom accordingly he exhorted to a good Agreement with one another, and ſo interpoſed againſt the Murder of *Geta*. But for this, he, together with the reſt who were Favourers of *Geta*, was killed by the Papinian's *Death*.

expreſs

expreſs Order of *Baſſianus*, who, as ſome further add, had deſired *Papinian* to extenuate for him, to the Senate and the People the death of *Geta*. But *Papinian* anſwered, *That it was not ſo eaſie to excuſe a Murder, as it was to commit it.* They ſay alſo that *Papinian* did decline to dictate the Speech, in which *Baſſianus* was to inveigh againſt his Brother, to the end, to render his own Cauſe the better in killing him; and that *Papinian* ſaid, that, to accuſe the Innocent, who had been murdered, was in the nature of another Murder. But all this however, does not very well agree. Becauſe it was not for the Captain of the Guards to form the Emperor's Speeches; and then it is certain that *Papinian* was for no other reaſon killed, but as he was a Fautor of *Geta*. As the Soldiers were hurrying him away to his Execution, he ſaid, *That he ſhould be very imprudent, who was the Captain of the Guards after him, if he did not ſeverely revenge the Cruelty that was ſhewn to his place.* Which was afterwards done. For *Macrinus* his Succeſſor, was the Author of the Death of *Baſſianus*, and was afterwards himſelf made Emperor in the Camp; whoſe Son *Diadumenus*, was immediately new named *Antoninus Diadumenus*, to gratify the Soldiers, becauſe the name of an *Antoninus* was ſo dear to them.

Baſſianus Antoninus Caracallus lived Forty Three Years, and reigned Six. He was Nobly buried, and left a Son, who was afterwards called *Varius Antoninus Heliogabalus*; the dear Name of *Antoninus* being ſo fixt in the

Hearts

Hearts of Men, that it was no more to be removed, than that of *Auguſtus* from the Perſon of the Emperor. He was a Prince of ill manners, and crueller than his too cruel Father. He eat and drank freely, but was hated by his Servants, and by all the Men of the Sword, only the Guards. The Works which he left behind him at *Rome* were, the famous Baths of his own Name, in which there is one Room ſo Curious, that the Architects ſay, it is altogether inimitable. He left alſo a Portico of the Name of his Father, repreſenting the principal Actions of his Father's Life, with his Wars and Triumphs. He received the Name of *Caracallus* from a Garment ſo called, which he firſt brought up and gave to the People of *Rome* for a Bounty. He repaired the *Via Nova*, which is below his Baths, ſo well, that you will ſcarce find a Street in *Rome*, that is fairer than it. He erected ſtately Temples in all places to the Honour of the Goddeſs *Iſis*, whoſe Sacrifices he celebrated with much greater Reverence than ever had been uſed before at *Rome*. His Body was interred in the Sepulchre of the *Antonines*'s, that the ſame place ſhould receive his Reliques, which had given him that Name.

His publick Works.

It is now fit that I ſhould relate how it is ſaid that he came to marry his Mother-in-Law, *Julia*; ſhe was very handſome, and as ſhe happen'd one day in negligence, to diſcover her Body a little naked; *Ah, Madam*, ſaid he to her, *I would, if I might. Sir*, ſaid ſhe again, *If you pleaſe, you can; you are an Emperor, and*

to give Laws to all the World, and not take them from any. He no ſooner had underſtood the ſenſe of thoſe Words, but his unbridled Paſſion led him to reſolve upon the accompliſhment of the Crime, and ſo he really celebrated thoſe Nuptials with her, which were in effect the ſame, as to take to Wife his own Mother, and to add Inceſt with his Mother, to the Murder of his Brother. It will not be improper here to remark a very picquant thing, which was ſaid of him. As he had aſcribed to himſelf the Titles in his ſtile of *Germanicus*, *Parthicus*, *Arabicus*, and *Alemannicus*, becauſe of his Conqueſts over the *Germans*, and thoſe other Nations; *Helvius Pertinax*, the Son of the Emperor *Pertinax*, ſmiling ſaid, *He Majeſty might be pleaſed to add* Geticus Maximus: In which word *Geticus*, there is an equivocation, with a double relation to *Geta* his Brother, whom he had killed; and with relation to the *Goths*, called *Getæ*, whom he had overcome in ſome running Fights, in his paſſage into the *Eaſt*.

His inceſtuous Marriage.

The Death of *Geta* was prognoſticated by ſeveral Prodigies, as we ſhall ſhew by and by in his own Life, which follows. In the mean time we ſhall only obſerve farther, that formerly, when the Army had propoſed *Baſſianus Antoninus* to march at the Head of them, in the place of *Severus* his Father, who was ſo ſick of the Gout, that he could not well follow the War; *Severus* was then for putting to death this his Son *Baſſianus*, if the Captains of the Guards had not over-perſuaded him againſt it. On the

the contrary, others ſay, that the Captains of the Guards were for puniſhing *Baſſianus* with Death, but that his Father was againſt it; becauſe he was not willing, that the fooliſh Raſhneſs of a young Man ſhould be reſented ſo ſeverely, as for his own Father to kill him, when the Soldiers rather were the great occaſions of the Crime. However it is, this moſt cruel Prince *Baſſianus Antoninus Caracallus*, who in a word was a Parricide, Inceſtuous, an Enemy of his Father, Mother, and Brother, was yet by *Macrinus* that killed him, out of fear of the Soldiers, and eſpecially thoſe of the Guards, after his Death made a God. A Temple was given him, and an Order of Prieſts appointed to ſerve him. Even the Temple of *Fauſtina*, built by *Marcus Antoninus* at the Foot of the Mountain *Taurus*, was re-dedicated to him; and his Son *Antoninus Heliogabalus*, tranſlated the ſame again afterwards, to either *Jupiter Syrius*, or the Sun, or himſelf, but to which of the Three, I cannot very well aſſert.

THE LIFE OF *ANTONINUS GETA*,

BY

ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS.

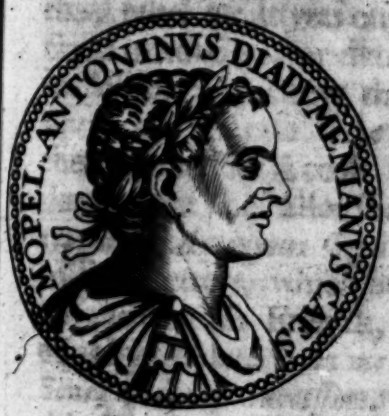
Dedicated to the

EMPEROR *Conſtantine* the *Great*.

I Am ſenſible, Sir, that your Majeſty, with many others, may perhaps admire, why I do take in here the Life of *Geta Antoninus*. For indeed, I muſt confeſs that there is not much to be ſaid of him, becauſe he was caſt out of the World, as ſoon almoſt as he came upon


IMP. CAES. P. SEPT. GETA. PIVS. AVG.


IMP. CAES. M. OPEL. SEV. MACRINVS. AVG.


M. OPEL. ANTONINVS. DIADVMENIANVS. CAES.


IMP. CAES. M. AVR. ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG.


IMP. CAES. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXANDER. AVG.


MAXIMINVS. PIVS. AVG. GERM.

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upon the Throne as a Partner with his Brother, however I ſhall obſerve, that he had the name of *Antoninus* given him, no leſs than his Brother, by the Order of the Emperor *Severus*, his Father; and the reaſon of it, which I ſhall premiſe, before I proceed further, was this. His Father ſometime, had had a Dream, that he ſhould be ſucceeded by an *Antoninus*. Upon which he immediately went to his Soldiers, and at the head of them gave his eldeſt Son *Baſſianus*, the name of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Baſſianus*. And when he had done this, whether it was out of his Paternal Affection unto *Geta*, or whether it was that *Julia* his Wife, who knew the Dream, had put him upon it, becauſe *Geta* ſhould not be altogether precluded Acceſs to the Empire, he ordered that he alſo ſhould be called by the name of *Antoninus Geta*: and always in his familiar Letters, which he writ afterwards in his abſence to his Friends, he ſaid of them both equally, *Salute from me my* Antoninuſſes, *my Sons, and my Succeſſors*. But yet however all this Caution of neither the Father, nor the Mother availed any thing. For only the elder poſſeſſed the Empire, who was the firſt honoured with the name *Antoninus*.

Occaſion of his Names.

His other name of *Geta* was what he had from either his Father's Brother, or from his Grandfather, whoſe names were *Geta*. There were yet other reaſons for the addition of that name of *Antoninus*, to this of *Geta*. *Severus* would have had it to be a Rule, that all Princes in the time to come ſhould be Entitled *Antonini*,

in the ſame manner as they are *Auguſti*. Which was the effect of his great love to the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, whoſe Son he was pleaſed to call himſelf, and whoſe Wiſdom and the Precepts of his Philoſophy he always endeavoured to imitate. And not only the effect of his love to that Prince, who was an *Antoninus* but by Adoption, but of his Love and Honour alſo to *Antoninus Pius* the Succeſſour of *Hadrian*; by reaſon, that it was *Antoninus Pius*, who had preferred him from a Practicer in the Law to be the *Keeper of the Exchequer*; which was a happy Riſe to him, and which had opened him the way to thoſe great Advantages, that afterwards he came to attain unto: who thought therefore, that he could not borrow a name from any Prince better, than from one whoſe Reign had been ſo happy; nor a name more honourable than that, that had already run through four Emperors. Being skilful in the Doctrine of Aſtrology, as many of the *Africans* generally are, he ſaid one day, becauſe he knew the Nativity of *Geta*; *I admire, dear* Juvenalis, (who was the Captain of the Guards to him) *to think, that my* Geta *ſhall be a God, in whoſe Nativity I ſee nothing to make him an Emperor.* Nor did his skill at all deceive him; for after *Geta* had been killed by his Brother, and his Brother apprehended that he had drawn upon himſelf the hatred of a Tyrant by the Crime, he underſtanding that it would be ſweetned if he did but declare *Geta* a God, cried, *Sit Divus dum non ſit Vivus*; *Let him be a God,*

a God, ſo he is not an Emperor; and ſo he Conſecrated him; by which the Murderer in ſome meaſure retrieved to himſelf the good Grace of the People again.

Geta Antoninus, was born at the City of *Milan*, under the Conſulſhips of *Severus* and *Vitellius*, upon the ſixth of the Calends of *June*. His Mother was *Julia*; who was *Severus*'s ſecond Wife, being her whom he had choſen to Marry, becauſe he had heard, that ſhe had it in her Nativity to be the Wife of a King; though himſelf was at that time a private Perſon, only in a good Employment in the State. *Good and bad Omens.* As ſoon as he was born, it was told by one that a Hen had laid an Egg in the Houſe, which was of a *Purple* colour. So the Egg was brought up; but *Baſſianus* taking it in his hands and letting it fall, like a Child, to the Ground, that it brake, *Julia* ſaid to him laughing, *You wicked Villain, you have killed your Brother.* *Severus* took more notice of this Expreſſion at that time, than any other Body: but afterwards all the Company lookt upon it as a thing ſpoken, as it were, by Inſpiration. Another Omen that happened was this: upon the ſame day, and in the ſame hour that *Geta* was born, a Plebeian of the name of *Antoninus*, had at his Farm in the Country a Lamb kidded, with a mark upon his Head of the colour of *Purple*: and being informed by a Soothſayer, that an *Antoninus* ſhould ſucceed to the Empire after *Severus*, he very fondly interpreted it of himſelf; but however killed the Lamb (in which conſiſted the

ſign of the death of *Geta*) for fear that the Omen of ſo high a Fortune ſhould bring him into danger. I would add one thing more, which the Event made People to interpret to the ſame purpoſe; which is, that when *Severus* one day Celebrated the Birth of *Geta*, his Brother *Baſſianus* killed the Sacrifice himſelf, in the place of the Prieſt. A Circumſtance not then conſidered nor taken notice of; but it was afterwards very well underſtood, when that Brother had ſacrificed his Brother.

His Perſonage and Conditions.

Geta, was in his temper a rough ſort of a Youth; though not to a Fault; handſome, a litttle eager, a lover of delicious Wines and good Chear. There is this Story of him, which is remarkable, when he was a Boy. His Father the Emperor *Severus* being for Eradicating wholly the Parties that oppoſed him, ſaid once to his Sons, I do but rid you of your Enemies. So *Baſſianus* adviſed him to cut them off all Root and Branch; them and their Children: but *Geta* askt the queſtion, how many of them they were? His Father telling him, ſays he again, *Have they Parents and Relations living?* Yes. *Then*, ſays he, *there will be more People in* Rome *ſorry for your Victory, than there will be that are glad of it.* And certainly *Geta*'s Opinion had carried it, had not *Plautianus* the Captain of Guards, and *Juvenal* who had great intereſts, inſiſted upon the contrary, in hopes of enriching themſelves by the Confiſcation of the Eſtates: which was again ſeconded by the exceſſive Cruelty of *Baſſianus*, who perſiſting in his firſt Opinion, and ſaying,

ing, *He would have them all cut off; them and their Children*; ſays *Geta* to him; *You, who ſpare no Body, would kill your own Brother.* Which, as then ſpoken, ſignified nothing: but afterwards it appeared to be a ſort of a Propheſie.

He had an excellent Memory to improve himſelf by what he read in the Antients, and by what his Father taught him. His Brother had always hated him; but he was more beloved by his Mother *Julia*, than ever *Baſſianus* was by his. He ſpoke agreeably, though ſomething Stammering: he was curious in his Dreſs, to exceſs: and whatever was preſented him, he applied it to his own Ornament, without giving it away to any body living. After the *Parthian* War, at what time his Father flouriſhed in great glory, as *Baſſianus* was declared a Partner in the Empire with his Father, ſo *Geta* was Created a *Cæſar*, and honoured with the name of *Antoninus Geta.* It was an uſual diverſion with him to propoſe to the Grammarians, Queſtions about the ſeveral Cries and Voices of Animals, *As the Sheep Bleats, the Swine Grunts, the Dove Coos, the Lion Roars, the Elephant Brays, the Frog Croaks, the Horſe Whinnies, the Aſs Brays, the Ox Lows*; and to prove the uſe of the proper Latin Terms for each, out of the Antients. He read much in the Books of *Serenus Sammonicus*, written to *Antoninus.* As to the Table, he took a pleaſure to obſerve an *Alphabet*; according to which, as every Letter came on each day in its Courſe, his Servants that knew it, and were well skilled in the

Arts

Arts of eating, provided things of the names, beginning with that Letter. As for example, for the Letter *P. Puddings Plover, Pullet, Partridge, Peacock, Pig, Piscis, Plumbs,* and so upon other days for the other Letters in order. Which is an Argument that from his Youth he had a gay choice of things, and was a very pleasant Person.

After he was killed by his Brother, a Party of the Soldiers who had not been Corrupted, resented his Murder very ill; saying all of them, *That they had promised Fidelity to the two Sons of* Severus, *and ought to keep it equally to them both.* Accordingly they kept fast the Passes of their Camp; and refused to give entrance to *Bassianus,* till he had flattered them up, and had appeased their Heats by giving them a Bounty, which was vastly great. After this *Papinian,* and many others were Massacred, who had either encouraged the good agreement of the two Brothers, or had appeared to be of the Side of *Geta.* Persons of Quality of both the Senatorian and the Equestrian Orders were Butchered, up and down publickly in the Baths and other places. *Papinian* died by the Axe; *Bassianus* finding fault with the Executioner that he had not done it with a Sword. In the mean time he was so afraid of his own Person, that he wore a Coat of Mail under his Purple, when he went to the Senate, to give them an account of what he did, and of the death of *Geta.* At which time, as *Faustinus* the Prætor repeated the Imperial Style, saying, *Sarmaticus Maximus,* and *Parthicus Maximus,* Titles which

which *Baſſianus* had gained by his Victories over the *Sarmata* and the *Parthians*, *Helvius Pertinax*, the Son of the Emperor of that name, ſuggeſted it to him to ſay, and add to the reſt *Gericus Maximus*; as if he meant it, in relation to his Victories over the *Getæ*, who were then called *Getæ*; but there was an Equivocation in the Word; for it alſo referred to the Murder of his Brother *Geta*. This ſunk deep into the Breaſt of *Baſſianus*, as it appeared afterwards by his putting to death the Author, and not him only, but thoſe others, as I have ſaid above. More particularly, as to *Helvius Pertinax*, he was willing to cut him off, upon the account that he was in the good eſteem of all the World; and then beſides he was the Son of an Emperor, which it ſelf was no very ſafe Circumſtance for a private Perſon.

The Funeral of *Antoninus Geta* was ſo very Fine, that one would not have thought the ſame Brother that buried him, had killed him. He was buried in the Sepulchre of his Anceſtors, that is to ſay, of *Severus* his Father, which is upon the *Appian* way. In fine it is to be obſerved, that the Careſſes of *Antoninus Caracallus Baſſianus*, were more to be dreaded than his Frowns. He had an unaccountable Quality with him, to ſpeak the faireſt and the kindlieſt to thoſe in appearance, whom he reſolved to deſtroy. And again, it was a Miracle to all to ſee him lament, as he did, the death of *Geta*, as often as his name was mentioned, or his Picture, or his Statue came in ſight. He was therefore a Man of many

His ſolemn Funeral.

Windings

Windings and Turnings in his Humour; and this being accompanied with as much Cruelty as if he thirsted after Blood, it made him, that he would one time Massacre the Friends, another time the Enemies of *Geta*, as Fortune offered them to him; so that the loss of *Geta*, by the same means, became lamented more and more.

THE

A. Christi CCXVIII.

THE Life and Reign OF THE EMPEROR OPILIUS MACRINUS.

Dedicated to the

EMPEROR *DIOCLESIAN.*

By JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

WHen Princes, either have not ſat very long upon the *Roman* Throne, or have not been Perſons of any extraordinary Characters before their Acceſſion to it, ſo that there is but little to be ſaid of their Reigns, for the ſhortneſs of them,

them, and less perhaps of their private Lives, in which they might never have been known, if they had not aspired to the Empire; it is not to be admired if their Memories should sometimes lye buried in obscurity. Therefore for my part, what I can find, that I do think may be deserving to be committed to Posterity, and worthy to be rescued out of the accounts of divers Historians, I shall produce it to the World; apprehending this to be the Duty of him, who proposes to write the Lives of others; that is, not to recount every thing that a Man does, but with Judgment to make a Choice of what is more particularly deserving of Memory. So that I should think, that *Ælius Junius Cordus*, who hath taken the Pains to publish the Lives of those Emperors, whom he believes to be more obscure and less known than others, hath not yet acquitted himself of his Design with the greatest Success. Because as short as he is, he hath yet reported things that are scarce worth the Labour of the Writing them. He suffers not the least trifles to escape him, as if concerning *Trajan*, *Antoninus Pius*, or *Marcus Antoninus*, it signifieth any thing to know every time that they went abroad, or how they changed their Habits, and who every Person was that they preferred, and when; or when they were served with other Viands upon their Table, than ordinary: all which he recounts, and fills his Books with them, and so makes his History a Tale of a Tub. Whereas, I think, that as for things that are so cheap, and of no value, no mention at all ought to be made

made of them; unleſs it is, when it is proper to give a Judgment by them of certain Inclinations, which may be really worth the knowledge; and even then, it is fit to touch them only in part and to leave the reſt to be gathered by the Reader.

After the Death of the Emperor *Baſſianus Antoninus Caracallus*, his Captain of the Guards, *Opilius Macrinus*, who had before that been the keeper of his Privy-Purſe, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Empire. A Man of a low Birth, not a Gentleman born or bred; full of aſſurance both in his Humour and his Looks; ſometimes he called himſelf by the Name of *Severus*, ſometimes *Antoninus*; but yet every body hated him, as well the Soldiers, as the People. He ingaged himſelf immediately in the War with the *Parthians*, to take away by that means from the Soldiers the leiſure to make Reflections upon him, and ſo to confirm his Power, or at leaſt to ſtop the ill Reports from growing, as much as it was poſſible, under which he lay. The Senate indeed willingly accepted him to be Emperor; but yet it was chiefly, out of their hatred to the memory of *Antoninus Caracallus*, in relation to whom they cried out with one Voice, *Any body rather than a Parricide; any Perſon rather than an inceſtuous, and an impure Homicide; any one, rather than a Murderer of the Senate and the People.* It may be perhaps a Matter of ſome admiration, why *Macrinus*, having been the Author of the Death of his Predeceſſor, who was by Name an *Antoninus*, ſhould nevertheleſs

His Extraction and Character.

nevertheleſs order his Son *Diadumenus*, to be called *Antoninus Diadumenus*. Now that which I find upon the Annals, as to that matter, is this.

The Oracle of the Goddeſs *Cæleſtis* in *Carthage*, having been conſulted by the Proconſul, about the State of the Empire, and the publick Affairs, in the time of *Antoninus Pius*, about the Emperors. After other things, ſhe particularly repeated the Name of *Antoninus* eight times; whereby it was underſtood, that the Emperor *Antoninus Pius* ſhould Reign eight Years. But when that Prince had out-lived that term, ſo that if any Faith was to be given to the Oracle, ſomething elſe than that was deſigned by it, which time was to produce. It was ſuppoſed at laſt to ſignifie, that the number of the Emperors of the Name of *Antoninus*, ſhould be eight; and ſo they are. To wit, *Antoninus Pius*, the Firſt; *Marcus Antoninus*, the Second; *Verus Antoninus* his Colleague in the Empire, the Third; *Commodus Antoninus*, the Fourth; *Antoninus Caracallus*, the Fifth; *Antoninus Geta*, the Sixth; *Antoninus Diadumenus*, the Seventh; and *Antoninus Heliogabalus*, the Eighth. For as for the Two *Gordiani*, or *Severus*, or *Pertinax*, or *Julianus*, or *Opilius Macrinus*, who did all of them ſometimes call themſelves *Antonini*, they are never to be accounted of the number of the true *Antonini*, but only thoſe Eight now mentioned, by whom that Name was more retained, than any of their own. Now *Macrinus* was willing to give his Son the Name of an *Antoninus*, for this

this reaſon, becauſe the People ſhould have the leſs occaſion to ſuſpect, that the late Emperor of that Name had been kill'd by his Orders; and becauſe he knew very well, that every one had ſuch an extraordinary Love for that Name, that unleſs the Emperor was called *Antoninus*, they could ſcarce think him an Emperor.

After *Opilius Macrinus* was alſo kill'd, and the Senate was aſſured that *Varius Heliogabalus* the Son of *Antoninus Caracallus*, was declared Emperor by the Army; then it was, that it was loudly repreſented in the Senate, what an ignoble Perſon *Macrinus* was. *Aurelius Victor Pinnius* ſpoke thus.

Macrinus, *a Slave the other day, that drudged in the ſervile Offices of the Emperor's Family! a Bougre! a Hireling! He lived a paltry Life under* Commodus. Severus *thought him not fit at firſt for the moſt miſerable Employments, but turned him out, and baniſhed him into* Africa; *where to cover his Infamy, he betook himſelf to Letters, and came to plead ſome ſmall Cauſes, and to declaim, and at laſt to be a Juſtice. Then he was created a Gentleman, and ſo at length, arrived to be the Keeper of the Exchequer under* Severus, *by the Favour of* Feſtus, *who was an infranchiſed Slave of that Prince.* His mean Original.

This relation however, is not ſo undoubted, but that others give us the Steps of his Promotion thus. That he was a Gladiator, and had fought in that quality publickly. Obtaining afterwards his Freedom, he went into *Africa*, where he was a Notary, and raiſing himſelf

after that, to be the Keeper of the Emperor's Exchequer, from thence he ſucceeded unto the higheſt Honors. Whilſt he was the Captain of the Guards, he contrived the Death of his Maſter, with that dexterity of Intrigue, that it could not be perceived, that he had the leaſt hand it it. He gained upon a Quirry to give the Blow; what with the Money he bribed him with, and what with the great Promiſes that he made him. And then it was ſo ordered, that it ſhould be ſaid, that he was killed in a Mutiny of the Soldiers; becauſe for his murdering his Brother, and the Inceſt of his marrying his Mother, he was ſo odious to them.

Makes his Son Cæſar. But no ſooner was this done, but *Macrinus* poſſeſſed himſelf of his place, and made his Son *Diadumenus*, whom he immediately called by the Name of *Antoninus Diadumenus*, his Partner with him in the ſame. Then he ſent the Body of the deceaſed to *Rome*, to be interred in the Sepulchre of his Anceſtors; and commanded his Captain of the Guards, who was his own late Colleague in that Office, to take care of burying him in all reſpects honourably; knowing that the Common People loved him for the Habits and the Largeſſes that he had given amongſt them.

As he was afraid of a popular Emotion, and that ſome body ſhould intervene and hinder his Reign, ſo he was glad to take the Empire, as it were by ſurpriſe; but yet in the mean time he ſerved himſelf of that common Artifice to pretend, that it was againſt his Inclination.

Particu-

Particularly he was jealous of the Captain of the Guards, his late Colleague, becauſe ſome People hoped, that if he had the Conſent but of one Legion, he would not refuſe an Opportunity, in which they would be ready to ſerve him, out of the hatred they had to *Opilius Macrinus* for his ill Life, and for the ignobleneſs of his Education and Birth. He took upon himſelf, as I ſaid, the Name of *Severus*, though he had no relation to that Prince; which occaſioned a good raillery upon both him and his Son; *Macrinus* is a *Severus*, as *Diadumenus* is an *Antoninus*.

Now to put a ſtop to any Commotion of the Soldiers, he immediately gave a Bounty, as well to the Legions, as the Guards, which was more than ordinarily large; and as it is the Cuſtom ſo to do, his Money ſupplied the defect of his Innocence; and what he wanted in one, he made up with the other; by virtue whereof, he continued in the Empire for ſome time, although he was a Man of all manner of Vice. He writ Letters to the Senate, concerning the Murder of *Antoninus Caracallus*, in which he ſtiled him a God; proteſting as to himſelf, that he was innocent, and had known nothing of it; and ſo he added to the Crime that he had committed Perjury, to begin his Reign withal.

It is fit to know, what a ſort of an harangue it was which he made, when he writ to the Senate upon this occaſion; that we may ſee the Confidence of the Man, and the Sacrilege with which he commenced his Reign. The

Heads of it were theſe, done in the joynt Names of the Emperors *Macrinus* and *Diadumenus*.

His Meſſages to the Senate.

We ſhould have been heartily glad, Fathers of the Senate, to have had our Sovereign Antoninus *yet in ſafety, and returning to you in Triumph. We ſhould all have been happy in ſuch a flouriſhing State of the Empire, and under a Prince, who was a Succeſſour of the* Antonini, *and given us from the Gods. But ſince this Happineſs hath not befaln us, by reaſon of a Mutiny of the Soldiers, which hath deprived us of it, we make you acquainted with what the Army hath done as to us in the firſt place; and next we with your Conſents, decree an* Apotheoſis *to be given immediately to our late Prince, whoſe Murder the Army hath thought no Man more worthy to avenge than his own Captain of the Guards, to whom himſelf had left it, to chaſtiſe the Faction, had he eſcaped their hands and lived.*

In another place, ſays he, *They have preſented me with the Empire, which I have therefore taken into my Protection; and I ſhall continue it, if the ſame thing be pleaſing to you, Fathers of the Senate, which is ſo pleaſing to them, to whom I have given a Bounty, and done every thing as the Cuſtom is for the Emperors to do upon theſe occaſions.*

Again, *My Son* Diadumenus, *whom you know, the Army hath made my Partner in the Empire, and hath not denied him the Name of* Antoninus. *Indeed, they have done him a greater Honour by that Name, than by that degree of a Prince; which we deſire may be approved*

proved by you, Fathers of the Senate, as a good and happy Omen, that you ſhall never want a Prince of a Name which you do ſo dearly love. Again, *We and all the Army have equally decreed the Honours of a God unto* Antoninus Caracallus. *And though we might with the Authority of Emperors command the ſame from you, Fathers of the Senate; yet we rather deſire you to do it, and to dedicate to him, two Statues on Horſeback, two more ſtanding in Military Habit, and two others ſitting in a Civil one. We dedicate alſo two triumphal Statues to the Emperor* Severus. *All which, Fathers of the Senate, you will command to be performed, at our earneſt Requeſt.*

When this was read in the Senate, they took the news of the death of *Antoninus Caracallus* very well, and hoping that *Opilius Macrinus* would maintain the publick Liberty, they firſt made him a *Patrician*, who was a Man originally of no Family, and little known; then they made him High-Prieſt, (a Title annexed to the Emperors) who ſometime before, had been a Clerk to the *minor* Prieſts: And laſtly, they voted him the Title of *Pious*. Nevertheleſs, at the firſt, upon the News of the Death of *Caracallus*, there was a long ſilence in the Senate, becauſe no body dared to be forward to believe it. But it was no ſooner confirmed to them, that he was really killed, but they inveighed againſt him as a Tyrant; immediately they conferred the Proconſular and the Tribunitian Powers upon *Macrinus*, who accepted from them the Title of the *Happy*, in-

ſtead of that of the *Pious*, and was pleaſed that the Name of *Antoninus* ſhould be confirmed by them to his Son.

And here I may obſerve, that this Name which began in a Prince, who was in reality, as well as by Title *Pious*, came by degrees, through a number of others one after another, who impaired its Reputation more and more, to end at laſt in a Man ſo impious, that he was the very ſcum of the Earth. *Marcus Antoninus* was the only Prince after *Pius*, who adorned it by a Life worthy of it; *Verus Antoninus* his Partner, degenerated from it, and *Commodus Antoninus* even polluted it. What ſhall I ſay of *Antoninus Caracallus*? Or what of *Antoninus Diadumenus*? What ſhall I ſay of *Antoninus Heliogabalus*? But as he was the laſt of the *Antoninuſſes*, and baſe born, ſo he is remembred to have lived in the greateſt impurity.

His Parthian *Expedition.*

Opilius Macrinus being thus eſtabliſhed in the Empire, he made great preparations to continue the War againſt the *Parthians*; and propoſed to aboliſh the infamy of his former Life, and the baſeneſs of his Birth, by the greatneſs of his Victories. He engaged the Enemy, as they were commanded by *Artabanus* their King, who fought obſtinately. But after this, a Peace being agreed upon, then *Macrinus* retired to the City of *Antioch*, where giving himſelf up to Luxury, his Legions took a juſt pretence from thence to revolt from him to *Varius Heliogabalus*, who was the reputed Son of *Antoninus Baſſianus Caracallus*; and who coming with an

an Army againſt him, defeated him, and killed him, after he had reigned but a little more than one Year. *He is ſlain.*

There was a Lady called *Mæſa*, alias *Varia*, a *Phœnician*, of the City of *Emiſſa*, the Siſter of *Julia*, the Wife of the Emperor *Severus*, who after the Death of *Antoninus Caracallus*, was baniſhed the Court by *Macrinus*; but yet ſhe was allowed to take along with her, all the effects which ſhe had amaſſed in the long time of her continuance there. This Lady had two Daughters, called *Semiamira* and *Mammæa*: The firſt and eldeſt was the Mother of *Varius Heliogabalus*, who was a Prieſt of the Sun, and had taken the Name of *Heliogabalus*, in the *Phœnician* Language, from the Name of the God that he worſhipped. And being as well by his noble Stature and his Beauty, as by his Office remarkable to all that came to the Temple, eſpecially the Soldiers, his Grand-Mother *Mæſa*, alias *Varia*, took her opportunity to ſay to them, that he was the Son of the Emperor *Antoninus Baſſianus Caracallus*, which from one to another, came to be made known to all. And as ſhe was herſelf very rich, and *Heliogabalus* very prodigal, ſhe made ſuch Promiſes to them in his behalf, that ſhe ſeduced the Legions to a revolt; who accordingly received him and his Mother, and their followers into a Garriſon by Night, and proclaimed him Emperor, by the Name of *Antoninus*, and inveſted him with the marks of that Dignity.

When this Account was brought unto *Macrinus* at *Antioch*, he admiring at the boldneſs of the Woman, which he could not but ſlight at the ſame time, ſent *Julianus* the Captain of his Guards with his Legions to beſiege her. But no ſooner did the New *Antoninus* ſhew himſelf in Perſon to thoſe Men, but they were all ſo marvellouſly inclined to love him, that they killed *Julianus* their Captain, and paſſed over in a Body to his ſide. Then *Antoninus Heliogabalus* having formed his Army ſet himſelf to march againſt *Macrinus*, as *Macrinus* was marching againſt him; and joyning Battel, *Macrinus* was defeated; occaſioned by the Treachery of his own Soldiers, by reaſon of their Love to *Antoninus*. So he fled with ſome few in company with him, and particularly his Son. But both he and his Son were afterwards purſued and killed in a Village of *Bithynia*, and his Head cut off and brought to the Conqueror. And all that his Son had gotten by the Empire, was his Deſtiny only to be killed with his Father.

Certainly *Macrinus* was in the time that he reigned more rigorous, and more auſtere than he had ever been before, thereby hoping to ſuppreſs the Reports of all his by-paſt Actions, and to bury them in oblivion; on the contrary, that Severity did but open a freſh occaſion to People to blame him. Thus he was for having himſelf to be called a *Severus* and a *Pertinax*: And when the Senate had given him the Titles of the *Happy*, and the *Pious*, he only

only accepted the firſt, and refuſed the other, which occaſioned a Libel to be made upon him, which was put up in the *Forum* in Greek and Latin Verſe to this purpoſe; *That an old, ugly, troubleſome, ſour, and unreaſonable Man of a Stage-player* (alluding to his fighting, formerly, as a Gladiator) *pretending to be Happy, without being at the ſame time Pious, it was a thing unnatural and irrational, for thoſe were two Virtues not to be ſeparated. An impious Reign will make his Subjects unhappy, and he who makes his Subjects ſo, muſt be unhappy himſelf.*

His Temper and Cruelties.

Macrinus was therefore one of a proud and bloody Mind; he loved to govern with the arbitrarineſs of a Soldier; accuſed the Diſcipline of former times, and praiſed *Severus* alone, of all the Emperors. He condemned his Soldiers to the Croſs, and always puniſhed them with the puniſhments of Slaves. In any Mutiny he generally decimated; ſometimes he contented himſelf to centeſimate them; which laſt was a peculiar word of his own, when he drew out but every hundredth Man when to execute, which he accounted a Mercy, he had ſaid, they deſerved to be decimated, or viceſimated. Certainly, it would be too tedious here to recount all his Cruelties. However, one I will mention, which was not great as he thought it; and yet it is ſomething worſe than the Barbarities of all the Tyrants that ever were. Two Soldiers were reported to have forced their Landlord's Maid againſt her Will, to lye with them, at the ſame time ſhe

was

was one that had been debauched long before. He hearing of it by his Spies, ſent for them, and examined the Matter; and it appearing to be true, he ordered Two vaſt great Oxen to be opened alive ſuddenly, and the Men to be ſtuffed into their Bellies, there to remain till they died, with only their Heads out, that they could talk to one another; which was a ſort of a Puniſhment that had nothing like it then, or in any former times, in the caſe of Adultery itſelf. In his Wars, always indeed, againſt the *Parthians*, *Armenians*, and *Arabians*, he quitted himſelf with equal bravery and ſucceſs. A Tribune one day having neglected to appoint the Guard, he dragged him alive and dead in a miſerable Condition at a Cart's Tail, all his march. He revived the Puniſhment of *Mezentius*, of tying the living to the dead, for both to rot together: Therefore it was ſaid by the People in the Cirque, in favour of his Son *Diadumenus*, who was a very lovely Youth,

His extreme Severity.

——— *dignus, cui pater haud Mezentius eſſet.*
It was pity he had a Mezentius *for his Father.*

He ſhut up others betwixt four Walls, till they died ſtarving. For Adultery he always tied the Parties body to body, and burnt them together alive. Servants that had run from their Maſters, he condemned to be made Gladiators of. Unleſs Informers proved what they ſaid, he made it Capital to them; if they did it,

it, they received a Reward in Money, but he dismissed them with all their Infamy upon them.

He was not a little versed in the Knowledge of the Laws of the *Romans*, insomuch, that he made no scruple to supersede all the Rescripts of the antient Emperors, to act according to Right, and not according to Rescripts. And it was a shame, he said, that the Wills of such as *Commodus* and *Caracallus*, and others that were unworthy to be Emperors, should be Laws; when *Trajan* would not allow that a Rescript that is written perhaps in favour in one case should be made a precedent in another; because things ought to be examined by the Rules of good Sense. He was liberal in his allowances of Bread and Provisions to the Poor, but sparing in giving Money. Towards his Servants he was so severe, and so cruel, that they called him instead of *Macrinus*, *Macellinus*, from *Macellum* a Shambles; because his House, like a Shambles, flowed with the Blood of the Servants that he killed. He eat and drank very freely, sometimes to excess in the Evenings. If he had dined at any time more sparingly, in his supper he would be very profuse. He admitted the Men of Letters to his Table, with whom talking, he prolonged his Meals.

But as every one called to mind the baseness of his Birth, and former Life, and on the other hand, observed his Cruelty, which

was

was exceſſive, and the many horrid things that he did, which the Soldiers, eſpecially, very well knew, they were not able longer to endure ſuch a Nuſance upon the Throne, and ſo they reſolved to rid themſelves of him.

A Libel upon him. There was a Libel once made upon his Son to this purpoſe. *I dreamt I ſaw a Youth of the Name of* Antoninus, *who hath a Slave to his Father, his Mother ſuch a Whore, ſhe hath had a Hundred, and ask'd a Hundred more. From ſuch a Father, ſuch a Mother, let him be a* Pius *or a* Marcus, *he cannot be a* Verus Antoninus; alluding to the Emperor of the Name of *Verus*, but intending to to ſay, that he cannot be a true, but only a viſionary, and a Baſtard *Antoninus*. When *Macrinus* was told this, he anſwered it in ſome *Iambics*, which they ſay were very well done; but we have them not, becauſe they periſhed with him in the Fray that he was kill'd in, when all that he had was plundered by the Soldiers.

The manner of his Death was ſuch as we have repreſented it before already; that is, his Army revolting, and carrying all their Inclinations upon *Antoninus Heliogabalus*, he fled, and was afterwards taken and kill'd in a Village of *Bithynia*; his Attendants all yielding, or otherwiſe cut in pieces or diſperſed in flight. This made *Heliogabalus* famous, becauſe he appeared to have revenged the Death of his Father. So he ſucceeded to

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the Empire, and as he certainly diſgraced it afterwards with Vices of Luxury, Impurity, Riot, Pride, and Cruelty, and as he lived an unhappy Life, ſo he met with the like tragical Death.

This is what I have diſcover'd concerning *Macrinus*, out of a great many Hiſtorians that mention him. I humbly preſent it to your Majeſty, O *Dioclesian*; being aſſured, that your Majeſty takes a pleaſure in viewing the Accounts of the Emperors of the antient Times.

THE

THE Life and Reign OF THE EMPEROR *Antoninus Diadumenus.*

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Antoninus Diadumenus being but a Youth when the Army created him Emperor, together with his Father, after the Death of *Antoninus Caracallus*; his Life affords us little that is remarkable, more than the Account of his reception of the Name of *Antoninus*, and the ſtupendious Omens that appeared to fore-tell his Reign, and alſo that it was to continue but a ſhort time. For as to the firſt, as ſoon as it was known amongſt the

the Legions, that the fatal Stroke was given to *Antoninus Caracallus*, that which was a matter of great trouble to them all, to obſerve, was, that they had not another *Antoninus* to ſucceed him, as if they thought that the very *Roman* Empire was certainly to periſh with that Name. *Macrinus* hearing this, and fearing, by reaſon that there were ſeveral Relations of *Antoninus Pius* that were Captains in the Army, leſt the Army might caſt their Inclinations upon ſome one or other of thoſe, for the Empire; he immediately put himſelf at the Head of them, with this Harangue.

You ſee here, my Fellow Soldiers, my ſelf, and my Son Diadumenus. *I am well advanced in years, but my Son by the mercy of the Gods, you will have long to be your Emperor. I underſtand that there is remaining amongſt you, a great Affection for the Name of* Antoninus. *Wherefore ſince for my own part, according to the Condition of humane Frailty, I have not much time left me to live, I name this young Son, an* Antoninus, *with your Conſents, and wiſh you long to enjoy him.* *He is declared an* Antoninus

They cried, *The Gods ſave the Emperor* Macrinus. *The Gods ſave* Antoninus Diadumenus. *We all beg, that* Antoninus Caracallus *may be made a God. Then moſt Excellent and moſt Powerful* Jupiter, *preſerve the Lives of* Macrinus *and* Antoninus. *Thou knoweſt*, O Jupiter, Macrinus *is invincible. Thou knoweſt*, O Jupiter, Macrinus *is inconquerable. Having an* Antoninus, *we have all things. The Gods, have given us*

an

an Autoninus. Antoninus *and his Father merit the Empire.*

Macrinus replied, *My Fellow Soldiers, we give you a Bounty of three pieces of Gold, to each of you, upon the occasion of our Accession to the Empire; and for the Name of* Antoninus, *five pieces of Gold more, besides your ordinary Pay, which shall be doubled to you. The Gods grant that this may be done often; for as much as we now give you this day, we will repeat it to you, every Fifth year of our Reigns.*

His Speech to the Army.

After this, *Antoninus Diadumenus* the young Emperor spoke to them in these words. *I thank you, my Fellow Soldiers, for the Honour of the Empire, and of the name which you have given me, for it is you that have thought my Father and me, worthy to be the Emperors of* Rome, *and to command the State: to the Government whereof My Father will take the Care not to be wanting, and it shall be my best endeavours not to be wanting to the Glory of the name of* Antoninus. *I am sensible, it is a name in which the Emperors* Pius, Marcus, *and* Verus, *have gone before me: who were Persons, to whom it is a difficult thing to answer worthily. I can only say, I will do all that is in my power: and in the mean time, upon the joynt occasion of my Reign and my Name, I promise you the same, as my most honoured Father hath done; who hath but considered you as you deserve.*

The *Greek* Historian *Herodian*, hath omitted these passages, and speaks *Diadumenus* under no higher a quality than a *Cæsar*. However after this Harangue, a Coin was stamped

ſtamped at *Antioch*, in the name of *Antoninus Diadumenus*: the other, which was to be in the name of *Macrinus* was deferred, till they had the expreſs Orders of the Senate; to whom Letters were ſent to acquaint them, with what was paſt, and with the New *Antoninus*, who deſired their approbation. And whether it was as ſome ſay, becauſe their hatred to *Antoninus Caracallus* made them willing to have any other Emperor, rather than him, they accepted of this Change freely. Had *Macrinus* lived, he intended to have given to the People of *Rome* a Preſent of ſome *Veſtments*, after the example of the Donation of *Caracallus*: and alſo to eſtabliſh a Charity, for the maintenace of the Children of ſome Poor Families; whom he intended to call by the name of his Son; to the end, as his own Words in the Edict are, to render ſo much the more agreeable and more recommendable the glory of the name of *Antoninus*. At the ſame time, he ſays, that he wiſhes that he was preſent with the People of *Rome*; that his Son, their new *Antoninus*, might with his own hand diſtribute a Largeſs of Corn amongſt them. In the next place he ordered the Colours, and the Standards of the *Antoninuſſes* to be put up in the Camp. He erected the Statues of *Antoninus Baſſianus Caracallus*, in Gold and Silver; and Celebrated a Feſtival of ſeven days, for the Honour of the name of *Antoninus*.

His Perſonage.

Antoninus Diadumenus was certainly one of the beautifulleſt Youths in the World. He was pretty tall, with bright yellow Hair, black Eyes, and a pretty long Noſe; his Chin perfectly handſome, and a grace to his whole Face; a full kiſſing Lip, and then he was naturally Stout, and proper in his Exerciſes. When firſt he was dreſs'd in the Imperial Robes of Scarlet and Purple, and the other Military Enſigns of the Empire; he ſhined like a Star, or as one newly dropt from Heaven, and every body loved him, for the Charms of his Beauty.

Omens of his Reign.

In the next place, as to the Omens which prognoſticated his Reign, they are indeed ſtupendous. The day that he was born, his Father over-ſeeing and examining the Purple Robes of the Emperor in his Office, had ordered ſome of them to be brought where his Son *Diadumenus* was born in two Hours after. And as ſome Children that are born, have a skin upon their Heads in the nature of a Coif, being a natural ſort of a Cover upon the Head, which is afterwards taken away by the Midwives; *Diadumenus*, inſtead of this had a perfect Diadem in the place of it, which was a thin, but ſtrong Fleſh, made of a great many Veins and Fibres, like the ſtrings of a Bow, from whence he was called at firſt *Diadematus*; but as he grew up, he was called by the Name of *Diadumenus*, from his Grandfather by the ſide of his Mother; and there is not much difference betwixt the one Name and the other. At a Houſe of his Father's in the Country,

try, twelve Lambs were kidded, all of a Wool of the colour of Purple, except one, which was of divers Colours. The ſame day that he was born, an Eagle came and dropt a Ring-Dove into his Cradle as he ſlept, and retired without doing him any hurt. Other Doves, from whence the Soothſayers prognoſticated great Riches and Honour, came and made their Neſts in his Father's Houſe. As he was one day walking in the Fields, an Eagle came and took from off his Head his Cap, and afterwards dropt it upon the Head of a Statue of an Emperor. He was born, not only upon the ſame day of the Month, but in the ſame hour, and almoſt under the ſame Conſtellations, as was the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*. Therefore the Aſtrologers ſaid, *That he would be both the Son of an Emperor, and an Emperor himſelf.* A Woman, who was of his Kindred, obſerving that he was born upon the Birth-day of that Prince, cried, *Let him be called an* Antoninus. But *Macrinus* was afraid to do that, becauſe it was an Imperial Name, which none of his Family had ever had; and he thought it was ſafer to let it alone, eſpecially, the Report being already put about of the greatneſs of his Birth. Another Omen that ſtill more particularly deſerves our obſervation, is this; as *Diadumenus* was in his Cradle in a Garden, a Lyon that had broken looſe, and was very fierce, came and lick'd him, and left him without offering him the leaſt violence; but yet meeting his Nurſe, he fell upon her, and bit her ſo cruelly, that ſhe died.

This is what hath ſeemed to me to be worthy of memory concerning *Antoninus Diadumenus*, whoſe Life I had even intermixt with the Actions of his Father, but that my Honour for the Princes of his Name, obliged me to ſuch a particular Account of him. And certainly, it was a Name ſo amiable to theſe times, that it ſeems, as if he who was not call'd an *Antoninus*, was not fit to be Emperor. There is a Letter of *Opilius Macrinus*, in which he declares, that he glories not ſo much of his elevation to the Empire, whereof he was the ſecond Perſon in rank before, as Captain of the Guards, as of being the Father of a Son, of the Name of *Antoninus*, which at that time was ſo Famous, that not any Name of the Gods themſelves was more. Therefore, ſaid one, *It is a thing void of all Reaſon, and unſuitable to the Dignity of* Commodus, *to covet, as he did, the Name of* Hercules, *as if that of* Antoninus *was not Honour enough. For would he be a God, he could never more eminently be ſo, than as he was an Emperor of ſo excellent a Name?* I mention this, in this place, only to ſhew, how highly the *Antoninuſſes* were valued, to have their Names ſet above the very Gods. And yet all this was wrought by only the Charms of three Princes of that Name, whoſe Wiſdom, whoſe Goodneſs, and whoſe Piety conſecrated them for ever to Poſterity; that is, Wiſdom in the Perſon of *Marcus Antoninus*, Goodneſs in his Brother *Verus*, and Piety in the firſt of the three, *Antoninus Pius*. I come now to the Letter which I mention'd of *Opilius Macrinus*. *Opilius*

Great Honours paid to the Name Antoninus.

Opilius Macrinus, to *Nonia Celſa* his Wife.

THE Bleſſing we have received, my dear Wife, is above all Eſtimation; but perhaps you may think now, that I ſpeak of the Empire, which is no ſuch great matter; Fortune beſtows that upon unworthy Perſons often. I am made the Father of an Antoninus. *Thou art become the Mother of an* Antoninus. *O happy we! And Fortunate our Houſe! Now is our Reign happy, and to be highly Renowned. The Gods, and particularly the good Goddeſs* Juno, *whom you Worſhip, grant, that he may ſuſtain worthily the merit of his Name; and that I, who am the Father of an* Antoninus, *may alſo appear worthy of that Honour to all the World.*

By this Letter we ſee, how great an Honour he looked upon it to be, that his Son was received by the Name of an *Antoninus*. However, this fine Son was killed, together with his Father, in the Fourteenth Month of their Reigns. And it is to be obſerved, that as young and as amiable as he was, he was yet one that was very ſevere upon many Perſons beyond his Age; witneſs theſe two Letters following, written to his Father and Mother; which as they are Pieces contributing to this Hiſtory, ſo I have thought fit to inſert them here.

The Emperor the Son, to the Emperor his Father.

I Am apt to think, Sir, in consequence of my Love and Duty to you, that you have not been sufficiently careful of your self, in sparing the Accomplices of the intended Revolt; whether it is because you hope that your Mercy will make them more your Friends for the future, or because they are your old Acquaintants, and that therefore you spare them. For first of all, as they are Persons that have been once exulcerated in their minds against you, they can never love you again; and then when old Friends forget themselves, so as to turn Enemies, they make the most cruel Enemies of all Men. To which add, what the Army cries,

Virg. Æn. 4. 274. Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
Aſcanium ſurgentem, & ſpes hæredis Iuli
Reſpice; cui regnum Italiæ, Romanaq; tellus
Debetur——.

If Thirſt of Glory cannot puſh you on,
Yet pray regard the Fortune of your Son,
To whom Rome's *Empire has been deſtin'd long.*

You muſt put them to death, if you would expect to live in Safety. For if thoſe be ſpared, others will not fail to trouble you as much, according to the natural viciouſneſs of Mankind.

Now

Now whether himſelf, or *Gelianus* his Maſter in Rhetorick formed this Letter, it ſhews what a ſevere young Man he would have been if he had lived.

The other LETTER to his Mother, was this.

CErtainly, my Father, the Emperor, neither loves you nor himſelf, to ſpare, as he does, his Enemies. Therefore, pray endeavour, that Arabianus, Thuſcus, *and* Gellius *be diſpatched, for fear, leſt, if occaſion ſerve them, they do not ſuffer us to eſcape them ſo eaſily.*

Theſe Letters, ſays *Lollius Urbicus*, in the Hiſtory that he hath made of his time, being betrayed to the Soldiers by his Secretary, did *Diadumenus* the greateſt prejudice, and coſt him his Life. For ſome of them conſidering that he was but a Youth, had been at firſt for ſaving him, after they had killed his Father. But when theſe Letters were produced and read, then they killed him alſo; and both their Heads were carried about upon the top of a Javelin. Then all the Army agreed to ſet up *Varius Antoninus Heliogabalus*, being the reputed Son of *Baſſianus Antoninus Caracallus*. They ſay, he was a Prieſt of the God *Heliogabalus*; that is, in the *Phœnician* Language, *He is ſlain by the Soldiers.*

the Sun; but certainly the moſt impure, and the moſt diſſolute Man upon Earth, and by ſome Fate, ſent entirely to diſhonour the *Roman* Empire. As there are a great many things to be ſaid of him, I ſhall reſerve my ſelf to ſpeak of him in his place.

THE

A. Christi CCXIX.

THE

Life and Reign

OF THE

EMPEROR

Varius Antoninus Heliogabalus.

Dedicated to the

EMPEROR

Conſtantine the *Great.*

BY

ÆLIUS LAMPRIDIUS.

Varius Antoninus Heliogabalus, paſſed his Life in a manner, which was ſo very impure, that I ſhould eternally excuſe my ſelf from committing it to Writing; nor ſhould it be known by my hand, that ever ſuch a Perſon was the Emperor of *Rome*,

Rome, if we had not had a *Caligula*, a *Nero*, and a *Vitellius* upon the ſame Throne before him. But as we ſee the ſame Earth produces as well Poyſons as good Grain; and is diverſified with things which are ſome wholſome, and ſome hurtful; here Vipers, and there other Creatures, that are tame, and good for the Life of Man: the prudent Reader will eaſily make himſelf an amends for ſuch prodigious Tyrants, if he pleaſes but to read the Reigns of *Auguſtus*, *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, and *Marcus Antoninus*, in oppoſition to them. For by the compariſon, he will perceive the Judgments of the *Romans* upon the one and the other; how that theſe latter reigned long, and ended their days at laſt with natural Deaths. But the others were murdered, ſhamefully dragged, branded as Tyrants, their Names thought unworthy ſo much as to be mentioned, or not to be mentioned without horror. After the Death of *Macrinus* and his Son, the Empire was conferred upon *Varius Antoninus Heliogabalus*, for this reaſon eſpecially, becauſed he was the reputed Son of *Baſſianus Antoninus Caracallus*. He had been before a Prieſt, either of *Jupiter*, or the Sun, and had taken to himſelf the Name of *Antoninus*, not only for an Argument of his Birth, but becauſe he knew that that Name was ſo very dear to the World, that even the Parricide his Father was loved for its ſake. His other Name from his Grandfather *Varia*, was *Varius*. Then he called himſelf *Heliogabalus*, from the Name of the God in the *Phœnician* Language,

Reaſon of his Names.

Language, whoſe Prieſt he was; and when he came to the Empire, he was declared an *Antoninus*, and he was the laſt of the *Roman* Emperors of that Name.

His Mother was *Semiamira*, to whom he was ſo devoted, that he did nothing in the Government without her. She in the mean time lived in the manner of an impudent Courtezan, and purſued her lewdneſſes of all ſorts in the very Palace. For as it was under that Character, that formerly *Antoninus Caracallus* had had commerce with her, ſo the promiſcuous iſſue, her Son, might very well alſo be called *Varius*, if it had been only from thence, who after his Father was killed, fled, it is ſaid, for fear of *Macrinus* into the Temple of the God *Heliogabalus*, as into an *Aſylum*, and made his Prieſthood there his Protection. But thus much as to his Name; that holy Name of *Antoninus*, ſo polluted by this Man, but which is, however, ſo venerated by you, Moſt Sacred *Conſtantine*, that your Majeſty hath the greateſt Honour in the World for the Emperors *Antoninus Pius*, and *Marcus Antoninus*; ſetting them before you, no leſs than you do *Conſtantius* and *Claudius*, for your Royal Imitation; whereby you indeed adopt the Virtues of the Antients to be your own, and certainly they very well ſuit with the happy Inclinations of your Majeſty.

After then, *Varius Antoninus Heliogabalus* was in the poſſeſſion of the Empire, he ſent his Accounts of it to *Rome*, where all the Orders of the Nobility, Gentry and People being elevated at the Name of an *Antoninus*, which ſeemed

ed in him to be reſtored, not as it was in *Antoninus Diadumenus* in Title only, but alſo in Blood, becauſe he writ himſelf the Son of *Antoninus Caracallus*: There was great Joy made for him; and this was yet further increaſed by thoſe good Apprehenſions, which Men generally have of a New Prince, who ſucceeds after a Tyrant; and by that great Affection, that they are then prone to expreſs, but which yet is not laſting, unleſs where it meets with an extraordinary deal of Virtue for its ſupport, becauſe many indifferent Princes have ſoon loſt it again. So when the Letter of *Heliogabalus* was read in the Senate, they received it with as many Acclamations of Joy and Kindneſs to him, as on the other hand they inveighed againſt *Macrinus* and his Son: All were willing to declare him Emperor, and induſtrious to believe him a worthy *Antoninus*; as the wiſhes of Men are apt to impoſe upon their Credulity, and what they deſire that it ſhould be true, they love to make themſelves believe that it is ſo. But he was no ſooner come to *Rome*, to omit the things which he did in the Provinces, but he ſet up the Worſhip of his God *Heliogabalus*, which he had brought with him out of *Syria*. He built upon Mount *Palatine*, near the Palace, a Temple to him, into which he was altogether for removing the Image of the great Mother of the Gods, *Cybele*; the Veſtal Fire, the *Palladium*, or Image of *Pallas*; the Sacred Shields, and all the Holy Utenſils of the *Romans*; not being willing that any other God ſhould

Comes to Rome.

ſhould be worſhipped at *Rome* but his own. He ſaid, that he would command the Worſhip of the *Jews*, the *Samaritans*, and the Chriſtians, to be thither alſo transferred; that the Myſteries of all Religions ſhould be contained within the Temple, and applied to the Honour of *Heliogabalus*.

His Mother ſits with the Senate.

The firſt day afterwards that the Senate ſat, he cauſed his Mother to be admitted as a Member of that Aſſembly, who was called in, and came and took her place by the Seats of the Conſuls, and was preſent at the paſſing of a Decree of the Senate. Indeed, he is the only Perſon of all the Emperors, whoſe Reign hath given us a Senatreſs; a Woman to come into the Senate, to act as a Man: He alſo created a little Senate of Women, which met on *Collis Quirinalis*; whoſe Decrees, aſſembled under the Direction of *Semiamira*, and the Laws that they made concerning the Ladies are very diverting. They made Laws, *What Cloaths every one ſhould wear*; *who ſhould give place to whom*; *who ſalute whom*; *who go in a Coach*; *who ride upon a Horſe*; *who upon an Aſs*; *who go in a Litter, drawn by Mules*; *who to be drawn by Oxen*; *who carried in a Chair, and whether the Chair ſhould be of Leather, or inlaid with Bone, or Braſs, or Ivory, or Damaskt with Silver*; *and who ſhould wear Gold or Jewels at their Shoes.*

Whilſt he wintered in the City of *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, which was before his coming to *Rome*, he carried himſelf ſo lewdly there, being carnally enter'd by Men, and grunting at the

the Work, like a Sow that is brimmed, that the Soldiers ſoon repented themſelves of having conſpired againſt *Opilius Macrinus* to make this Perſon a Prince; and then turned their Thoughts upon *Alexander* a Couſin-German of *Heliogabalus*, whom the Senate had created *Cæſar* upon the Death of *Macrinus*. For who indeed could endure to ſee a Prince more than beſtial, leaving no concavity of his Body unpolluted by thoſe he loved. And coming afterwards to *Rome*, he made it his great Buſineſs to be furniſhed with Men out of all Parts that were the beſt provided for his purpoſe. He had the Comedy of *Paris* performed in his Apartments, in which himſelf acted the part of the *Venus*, and ſuddenly his Cloaths falling down to his Heels, and leaving his Body all naked, he put himſelf into a Poſture fit for his Aſſociates to make their lewd Approaches. He made himſelf to be drawn in the figure of a *Venus*, with a delicate Face, and all his Body ſmooth, and thought it the greateſt Happineſs of his Life to be tempting and agreeable to the Luſts of more and more Men.

His Beſtiality.

His baſe Government.

Himſelf, his Servants, and his Pimps, one with another, made a common Sale of the Degree and Places of Honour, and the Places of Power and Command. He created any one indifferently a Senator for Money, without regard to Age, Eſtate, or Birth. The Military Offices of Captains, Tribunes and Generals, were ſold, as alſo the Governments of the Provinces, and the Offices of the Houſhold.

ſhold. Two Coach-men, whom he took out of the Cirque, that is, *Protogenes* and *Gordius*, he made the great Companions of his Life, and his Privadoes to every thing he did. He took ſeveral into the Court out of both the Theatre and the Amphitheatre, where they had been Players, Charioteers, or Gladiators, only becauſe their Bodies promiſed him to the Eye, ſomething filthy that pleaſed him. He loved a Youth called *Hierocles* ſo, that he uſed to kiſs what it is immodeſt to name in him, and ſaid, *That it was to celebrate a Game to the Goddeſs* Flora. He committed Inceſt upon a Veſtal Nun. He profaned the moſt Holy Rites and Myſteries of the *Romans*, breaking into the Sacriſties of their Temples, and carrying all things away thence into that of his own God. He would have extinguiſhed the perpetual Veſtal Fire. Nor was he only this upon the Religions of the *Romans*, but all the World over, he deſired to have no other God worſhipped but *Heliogabalus*. He broke into the Sanctuary of the Temple of the Goddeſs *Veſta*, polluted as he was, with all kind of Filthineſs, and his Company as bad and as vicious as he, to take from thence the inviolable Image of *Pallas*. He thought that he had really carried off the Jar which is conſecrated to the Temple, and the Rites of the Goddeſs *Cybele*; but only the ſuperior of the Virgins belonging to that Goddeſs, had ſhewn him a falſe one in the room of the true; and finding nothing in it that was extraordinary, he broke it in pieces. So he alſo ſeized upon an Image of

His Inceſt and Sacrilege.

of *Pallas*; which was adorned with Gold; but which he likewiſe miſtook for the true Palladium, and he placed it in the Temple of his own God. He initiated himſelf in the Rites of the Goddeſs *Cybele*; and was waſhed in Bull's Blood; only to get an opportunity by the means to ſteal away the Image of that Goddeſs, and other Sacred Utenſils that are kept altogether lockt up. He toſſed his Head and his Hair about, as the Fanatick Prieſts of that Goddeſs do, amongſt whom he officiated: every thing that thoſe Prieſts do, ſo did he; till at length, he ſtole off the Venerable Imagē of the *Mother of the Gods*, and repoſed it in the Sacriſty of his own God. He Celebrated the Feaſts of *Adonis*, with all the Mourning and the Toſſing the Body, which is uſed in the worſhip of that God in *Syria*. He imitated *Venus*, weeping and bewailing his loſs; which was but a preſage from himſelf of his own approaching ruin. All the Gods, he ſaid, were the Servants of his God; to whom ſome were his Chamberlains, ſome his Uſhers, and others were deſtin'd to ſerve him in all ſorts of Offices. He endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of the Statue of the Goddeſs *Diana*; being the ſame Sacred Statue which *Oreſtes* had ſtoln out of her Temple in *Scythia Taurica*, and had afterwards repoſed it in another Temple Dedicated to her at the City of *Laodicea* in *Aſia*. The ſame *Oreſtes* built a City of his own Name, *Oreſta*, upon the Bank of the *Hebrus*, in the Country of *Thrace*; which the Emperor *Hadrian* ordered to be re-called

Hadri-

anople, from himself, about the time that he was in his Frenzy, when he commanded so many Senators to be killed: whom *Antoninus* on the contrary saving, and afterwards bringing them into the Senate, when every body had thought them dead, he very well deserved to be Entitled, as he was, the *Pious Antoninus*: And some allay it gave to that Frenzy of *Hadrians*, at that time to tell him; *That whilst his Majesty was giving his Name to a City, it was to be feared that some mad House should take it up.* *City of* Adrianople.

Antoninus Heliogabalus offered Sacrifices to his God, of young and pretty Boys, that were Gentlemens Sons, whom he Kidnapped for the purpose over all the Country of *Italy*, and whose Fathers and Mothers were yet living. The reason of his choice of such, as whose Fathers and Mothers were yet living, I cannot understand, unless it was this; to make the Trouble of their loss so much the more sensible as it reached to both their Parents, and that their deaths should be accompanied in the Ears of his God, with a more general Lamentation. He had all sorts of the Diviners, Magicians, and Priests of the East with him, daily employed in the bloody Works of his Religion; in which he encouraged them on; thanking the Gods, that he was so well supplied with the peculiar Friends, as he called them, and Servants of theirs: and then he pryed himself into the Entrails of the murdered Children; and discussed the Victims, according to the Rites of the Country, from whence this Service came. *Cruel Idolatry.*

The Largeſs with which he Careſſed the People, when he entred upon his Conſulſhip, was not little pieces of Money (of Gold or Silver) caſt amongſt them, nor a Collation of Fruits, Wines, and the like; but he gave them Fat Oxen, Camels, and Aſſes, to divide amongſt them; and Slaves to ſerve them: This, he ſaid, was great, and becoming an Emperor, and for the Honour of *Heliogabalus* his God.

He was very ſevere upon the memory of *Opilius Macrinus*; but yet worſe againſt his Son for aſſuming the name of *Antoninus*: he called him a Pretended, a Spurious *Antoninus*; and he could not endure to hear him well ſpoken of; nay he obliged ſome Perſons, that writ his Life, to Slander him with things that were horrid and intolerable. He ſet up a Publick Bath in the Court, which he expoſed to the free uſe of all the World; the deſign whereof was only to ſee, what Men were the beſt Provided for his uſe, and to take them to himſelf: for thoſe were the Creatures, in the World, the moſt in Vogue with him, and great Care was uſed to find them out, about all the Town, inſomuch as out of the very Water men.

In the mean time, the Perſons who diſcovered his Practiſes the moſt to the World, were ſuch eſpecially, as had born him Company in the Exerciſes of his Luſts, and had been wearied, with his Men, that were ſo Potent, and ſo filthily Hung. His death was a thing, begun firſt to be thought of amongſt thoſe of his own

own Family. Neither could the Soldiers endure to ſee ſuch a Peſt upon the Throne, and therefore they all turned their inclinations upon *Alexander*, his Couſin *German*, whom the Senate (as it was ſaid) had Created *Cæſar* at the death of *Macrinus*. *Aurelius Zoticus Magirus* was a very great Favourite unto *Heliogabalus*. All the Principal Officers of the Court reſpected him, as if *Magirus* was the Husband, and *Heliogabalus* the Wife; *Magirus* the Maſter, and *Heliogabalus* the Miſtreſs. But the Maſter did ſo abuſe the Tye of the Familiarity which he had with this Miſtreſs, that he made a Practiſe by it of really cheating, out of their Money all the World at once. Some he threatned; ſome he promiſed; took Money of all: and coming out from *Heliogabalus*, His way was, Sir, *I told the Emperor this of you*; *I heard him ſay this of you*, (to another.) *This will be done about you*, (to a third.) And yet all falſe; as all theſe ſort of Men do, who when admitted to too great a Familiarity with Princes, make no ſcruple to Sacrifice the Reputation of them to their own advantages: Let the Princes themſelves be bad or good, it is the ſame; for ſo long as either through their Folly, or their Innocence, they do not perceive the Cheat; it is Meat and Drink, and Honour, and Riches to ſuch as purſue it. *Heliogabalus* perfectly Married this Man, and lay with him as his Bride; and his word was, *Vigorouſly*, *Magirus*: not bating him ſo much as the time that *Magirus* was ſick of a Doſe that had been palmed upon him by an angry Ri-

His filthineſs with Magirus.

val. Then he askt the Philoſophers, and the graveſt Perſons about him, whether they in their Youths had not done the ſame thing. Which he expreſſed in the lewdeſt words, for he never ſpared for thoſe, and acted the Poſtures upon his Fingers, without any ſenſe of Shame, to be ſeen and heard by all the Company.

He made his infranchiſed Slaves the Preſidents, Lieutenants, and Proconſuls of the Provinces. The Commands in the Army and all Places of Honour, he polluted with baſeborn and profligate Men. When he kept the Feaſt of the Vintage, to which he had invited ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry, and the Company being repos'd, began impudently to ask firſt the Graveſt of them, one after another, *Was he ready for the Exerciſes of* Venus? They bluſhing at the Queſtion, he cryed; *He Bluſhes, that's enough, his ſilence gives conſent*; and then he told them of his own Performances, and how he was ready to do all things for his part without ſeeking a Veil for his Modeſty. The Graver Men bluſhing ſtill, and ſaying nothing, becauſe either their Age or their Honour refuted ſuch Stuff, he proceeded to apply his Diſcourſes to the young Fry, to whom he uttered all ſorts of filthy Queſtions; who anſwering him again ſuch things, as come from thoſe of their Years: he was mightily diverted, and ſaid, *This now is to be free, and this is the right way of keeping the Feaſt of the Vintage.* There were thoſe in the Company that were lewd enough, and ſome too that were old, and in appearance Philoſo-

His horrid Immodeſty.

Philoſophers, with their Heads in Caps, who confeſſed that they did indeed love the *Female Part*, and what Men they had that had ſerved them in the Faculty of Husbands. But I cannot tell whether they did not diſſemble, to ingratiate themſelves the more in the favour of *Heliogabalus*, by the Correſpondence of their Vices unto his.

Prefers baſe Perſons.

He preferred one Man to be a Captain of the Guards, who had been a Publick Stage-Dancer at *Rome*. He made *Gordius*, a Coachman, Captain of the Lieutenancy of the City: he made *Claudius*, a Barber, the Commiſſary of the Stores, and to other Places he promoted Men as they recommended themſelves to him by the large ſize of their Secrets. He made a Mule-driver a Commiſſioner of the Tax, called *Viceſima*, together with a Poſtman, a Cook, and a Lockſmith. When he came either to the Camp or the Senate, it was in the Company of his Mother, whoſe Authority kept him a little in Countenance, and who was the firſt Woman, as we have ſaid, that ever had that acceſs to the Senate, to give her Vote there. At his Banquets he particularly loved to place by himſelf, and to Favour, the Bardaſhes; and took a great delight to Handle them, and to Provoke their Luſts, though it was before all the Company.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, he conceived a great diſpleaſure againſt *Alexander* his Couſin *German*, whom before he had Adopted; and yet it was only, becauſe he would not be as lewd as he. He ordered him to be removed from

him; and repented that he had adopted him, and ordered the Senate to Depoſe him from the Dignity and Title of *Cæſar*. But as *Alexander* was a very excellent Youth, and acceptable to both the Senate and all the Gentry, and beloved by the Soldiers, as he approved himſelf worthy thereof afterwards in his Reign, the Senate when this motion was made to them, was very ſilent upon it. Then *Heliogabalus*'s Fury carried him upon the worſt of Wiſhes. He ſet Men expreſly to Murder him. In order to which, he retired himſelf from the Palace, to the Gardens by the old Temple of *Hope*; as if he had deſigned that Place, in the way of an *Omen*, that he might ſucceed in his Hopes againſt this ſo promiſing, and ſo neceſſary a Youth; whom he left behind him, in the Palace, in Company with his Mother and his Grandmother, and had commanded that he ſhould be killed there. At the ſame time he ſent Orders to the Camp to abrogate, amongſt them, his Title and Honour of *Cæſar*. He ſent Perſons to beſmear with Dirt his Statues, which were in the Camp; and to deface the Inſcriptions upon them, as it is done uſually to the Statues of Traitors. He ſent to others, that were his Attendants, to engage them by promiſes of Rewards and Honour, to kill him by what way ſoever they pleaſed; either in the Bath, or by Poiſon, or the Sword.

His Hate to Alexander Severus.

But the *Counſels of the Wicked are of no effect againſt the Innocent*. No Body by any endeavours, could be prevailed with, to the perpetration of a Fact ſo Villainous. On the contrary, all his Weapons recoiled againſt himſelf;

himſelf; and thoſe Perſons, by whom he aimed to take away *Alexander*'s Life, became the Maſters of his own. All the Soldiers were in a Flame to ſee the Statues and the Titles of *Alexander* beſmeared with Dirt. Some made towards the Palace, ſome towards the Gardens in which *Heliogabalus* was; directly to aſſert the Cauſe of *Alexander*, and to drive away this Impure Man, and in his Heart a Murderer, by violence from the Throne. Coming to the Palace, they firſt took a care of the preſervation of the Perſon of *Alexander*, and his Mother, and Grandmother; and ſent them to the Camp; whither *Semiamira* the Mother of *Heliogabalus*, followed them on Foot, in a great diſquiet for her Son, and to ſee what ſhe was able to effect in his Favour. From the Palace, they went to the Houſe where *Heliogabalus* was. They found him employed about a Match for a Chariot-Race; but withal full of expectation of the News, when it ſhould come, that his Couſin-German was killed. The ſudden Noiſe of the Soldiers frightned him. He threw himſelf into a Corner, and by the help of a Curtain hanging over a Chamber-door, eſcaped out of their ſight. So he diſpatched one of the Captains of the Guards immediately to the Camp to appeaſe the Soldiers there; and another to ſweeten thoſe, that were come into the Houſe. *Antiochianus* was he who was employed to the latter: who ſpoke to them, and upon their Oaths Conjured them to be ſatisfied, and intreated them ſo kindly, that in fine he prevailed with them (they not being very many in

number) to abandon their Enterpriſe for that time. As to the other Officer, who was ſent to appeaſe the Camp, the Soldiers there replyed to him; that they were willing to forgive *Heliogabalus*; provided that he would remove the Impure Men, and the Charioteers, and Stage-Players from his Perſon, and would betake himſelf to Reaſon: particularly they deſired the removal of ſuch as had made uſe of their Miniſtry for a Cloak to Cheat all the World out of their Money. So *Hierocles*, *Gordius*, *Muriſſimus*, and two more of his Lewd Favourites; who as ill as he was, made him much worſe, by the abſolute power which they had over him, were removed. The Soldiers further deſired, that the Captains of the Guards ſhould take care not to ſuffer him to lead ſo ill a life again; and that *Alexander* ſhould be preſerved in ſafety from him, and not be viſited by any neither of his Company; becauſe no Taint of their filthineſs or example ſhould reach his imitation. But yet *Heliogabalus*, not only inſtantly redemanded *Hierocles*, who was one that was moſt extremely Lewd; but he daily carried on deſigns againſt the life of the young Prince. Upon the Calends of *January*, when they both were appointed Conſuls together, he refuſed to appear with him in the Proceſſion, according to Cuſtom, to the Senate, and the Capitol; till at laſt his Grandmother, and his Mother told him, that the Soldiers were ready to Murder him, unleſs he agreed better with his Couſin German; and then, though it was twelve a Clock, firſt he put

A Mutiny of the Soldiers appeaſed.

put on his Robes, and marched to the Senate; whither his Mother repaired in a Chair at the ſame time: but he would by no means be perſuaded to go from thence to the Capitol to finiſh the Ceremony, and to perform the accuſtomed Vows and Rites there. For all things were done there by the Governour of the City, as in the caſe of the abſence of both the Conſuls.

Nor did he ſtill forbear to proſecute his deſign againſt the life of *Alexander*. But in the mean time fearing, that after he had killed him, the Senate would in return caſt their thoughts upon another Emperor, he reſolved to be before hand with them, and on a ſudden he baniſhed the Senate out of the City. All of them though their Chariots or Servants were wanting, and their Equipages not in a readineſs, were commanded nevertheleſs immediately to be gone. So they went; ſome of them upon Carts, and others by any manner of Conveniences, that Chance offered to them. *Sabinus*, who had been a Conſul, and one to whom *Ulpian* the Lawyer Dedicates his Books, tarrying a little behind the reſt, he ſent for a Centurion, and commanded him to kill him. But ſpeaking it ſomething low, and the Centurion being a little deaf, the Centurion thought that his command had been to drive him out of the Town by force: which he did, and the miſtake ſaved *Sabinus* his life. At the ſame time he Baniſhed *Ulpian*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was an Honeſt Man, and likewiſe the Rhetorician *Silvinus*, who had been

The Senate baniſh'd.

Alexander's

Alexander's Maſter; and the latter he afterwards put to death: but *Ulpian* was ſpared.

But the Soldiers, and eſpecially thoſe of the Guards, knowing what *Rods* Heliogabalus *was making for their Backs*, and obſerving the grudge that he bore them, for their laſt attempt, in which they had reſcued *Alexander* out of his Hands, reſolved upon a Conſpiracy with one another, for the deliverance of the State. Accordingly they fell firſt upon his Lewd Aſſociates; whom they put to death in ſeveral ways; ſome by ripping them up, and taking out their Entrails; ſome by boring them through the Fundament; that their deaths and their lifes ſhould be alike. Next they broke by violence in upon himſelf; who fled for ſhelter into a Houſe of Office. They killed him there; then they dragged him through the Streets. They added this Deſpite to his Body that they threw it into the Kennel; and the Kennel not being big enough for it, they faſtned a weight to it, that it ſhould not float and be afterwards found, and buryed, and ſo caſt it from the *Æmilian* Bridge into the River of *Tyber*. But before they threw him into the *Tyber*, they had dragged him up and down the Cirque. His Name, that is, that of *Antoninus* was eraſed, and nothing but that of *Varius Heliogabalus* was left to ſtand upon the Records, becauſe he had ſo much affected, to retain nothing but the Name, to ſhew himſelf to be the Son of an *Antoninus*. They called him after his death, the *Tyberine*, *Dragged*, *Impure Heliogabalus*, and by many other ſuch

His Aſſociates and himſelf ſlain.

ſuch Names, upon any occaſion of remarking the Paſſages of his Reign. Of all the Princes, he was the only one that was both dragged and thrown into the Kennel, and thrown into the *Tyber* too. It was what befel him from the general hatred in which he died, and which Princes by his Example ought to take great heed how they incur; becauſe, if ſo be that they live ſo, as not to merit the Love of either the Senate, People, or Soldiers; neither will they be thought to deſerve the Honour to be buried. His publick Works were, he built a Temple to his God *Heliogabalus*, whom ſome interpret the Sun, ſome *Jupiter*. He repaired the Amphitheatre after a Fire. He carried on the Work of the Baths, that had been begun by his Father, but which had been left imperfect for want of ſome Galleries to them, which therefore this Prince enterpriſed; but neither were thoſe brought unto their laſt perfection till the Reign of *Alexander Severus*. *His publick Works.*

He was the laſt of the Princes of the Name of *Antoninus*. And certainly the Life, the Manners, and the Lewdneſs of him are ſo odious, that as the Senate eraſed out of the publick Records his Name of *Antoninus*, my ſelf ſhould not give it him, but for the ſake of diſtinction, and the Laws of Hiſtory, which oblige me. His Mother *Semiamira* was killed with him; a Woman without Honour, and worthy of ſuch a Son; upon whoſe account, it was before all things ordained by the Senate, after his Death, that no Woman for the future ſhould ever be

received

received a Member there again, and the Head of him by whom this had been done, contrary to the Sentiments of all the World, they devoted to Hell for it. Many were the obſcenities of his Life, which I think not fit to mention. His Riot in ſome things, when a private Man, and in others when Emperor, and what concerns his Luxury in that kind, I may the better deſcribe. For even in his private Life, he profeſſed to imitate the Luxury of *Apicius*; and when Emperor, his Examples were *Nero*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*.

His Luxury in his Houſe.

He was the firſt of all private Men, who covered his Bed with furniture of Cloth of Gold, which he did in virtue of an Act, that had admitted it of *Marcus Antoninus*, when that Emperor made an Auction of all the unneceſſary moveables of his Houſhold to raiſe Money for the *Marcomannick* War. He garniſhed his Entertainments throughout the Summer, with Glaſſes and things, all of the ſame colour, and the colour every day various. He was the firſt that furniſhed his Kitchin with Pots and Pans of Silver, whereof ſome were of a hundred pound weight, and ingraved with venereal Figures. He firſt brought up the Wines of the infuſion of Maſtick, Roſes, and other things, which the Luxurious have at this day. For though the Wine of the infuſion of Roſes had been invented before, yet he rendred that ſtill more fragrant by a mixture in it of the Pine. Neither do we read of ſo many ſeveral mixture of Wines before the time of *Heliogabalus*, every moment of whoſe Life was ſpent in queſt

queſt of new Pleaſures. He is the firſt that made a ſort of Sauſages of Fiſh, ſuch as Oyſters, Muſcles, Lobſters, Crabs, Shrimps. His Dining-Rooms, Tables, Couches, and Galleries where he eat or walked, were ſtrewed with Roſes, Lilies, Violets, Hyacinths, Daffadils, and all ſorts of Flowers. He went not into the Baths, but they were firſt perfumed with noble Oyntments, or Saffron. The Pallets, upon which he repoſed himſelf at Table, were of the Skins of Hares, or the Feathers of Partridges, and he often changed his leaning Pillows for ſoftneſs. Sometimes he vilified the Senate ſo, that he called them *Slaves of the long Robe*; and the People of *Rome*, the *poor Labourers of one Field*; and ſlighted the *Equeſtrian* Order, as worth nothing. He often took the Governor of the City, and the Captains of the Guards, to drink with him after Supper, and ſpared them not their meaſure. He had deſigned, if he had lived, to appoint a diſtinct Governour to every Region of the City, in all fourteen, which was to be a preferment for ſo many of his Pimps, the filthieſt of Men, and of the baſeſt profeſſion of Life. He had Couches of Maſſy Silver, both for his Dining-Rooms and his Chambers. He was ſerved with Diſhes frequently in imitation of the Luxury of *Apicius*, of the *Hoofs of Camels, the Combs of Cocks cut off from them alive, and the Tongues of Peacocks and Nightingals*; becauſe he ſaid, *Theſe are good things againſt an Epilepſie*. He taught the Court the Dainties of the *Intrails of Barbels, the Brains of Red-Tails,*

the

the Eggs of Partridges, the Brains of Thruſhes, and the Heads of Parrets, Pheaſants, and Peacocks. It is to be admired, how he gathered together ſuch a quantity of the Fins of Barbels, that he had great Diſhes and large Plates ſerved of them, being things as rare as they are uſeleſs. And which is altogether aſtoniſhing, he fed his Dogs with the Livers of Geeſe.

Other of his immoderate Vanities.

Lions and Leopards, being firſt diſarmed of their Claws and Teeth, and taught by Maſters to be tame, and to know their Commands, he had a great delight in. And at the ſecond or third Services, on a ſudden, he called them into the Room to him, where the Company not knowing that they were diſarmed, it was a mighty laughing matter to him to ſee what a vain Fright it gave them. He ſent Raiſins in the Sun to be put into the Mangers to his Horſes. He fed his Lions and his other fierce Beaſts, with Parrets and Pheaſants. For ten days together, he had once every day ſerved up to him thirty of the Meats that are made of the hinder Part of ſo many Sows newly farrowed. His Peaſe were garniſhed with Grains of Gold. His Lentils with precious Stones, which matched them. His Beans with Beads of Amber, and his Rice with Pearl. Pearl was ſprinkled amongſt his Fiſh and his Muſhrooms, like ſo much white Pepper. He ſometimes ſtifled ſome of his Company at Table, with the vaſt number of Violets, and other Flowers, made by a Contrivance to fall upon their Heads.

It is ſaid, that he repreſented a Fight of Gallies

Gallies in the Amphitheatre, *upon a Sea all of Wine*, which was let in by the Pipes. At the ſame time he perfumed the Seats for the People, with ſweet Oyntments. He ran a Race of four Chariots drawn by four Elephants a piece, upon the *Vatican*, being himſelf the Driver, and levelling the ground for the purpoſe; and another within the Circuit of his Palace, of as many Camels drawing the Chariots. He once ordered a great quantity of Serpents to be gathered together for him; ſo when he had them, he let them fly ſuddenly amongſt the Company that was aſſembled in the Cirque at a publick Shew, of whom many were bitten, and others put to the ſcamper to ſave themſelves. He had ſome Tunicks ſo thick beſet with Jewels, that he ſaid, *He was even loaded with the weight of his finery.* He wore at his Shoes, Jewels of the Cut of the greateſt Artiſts, which was but thought ridiculous; as if the fineneſs of the Stone, and the gravery, ſignified at the Foot any thing where it could not be diſtinguiſhed. He dreſſed his Head with Jewels, to make him look more of the Countenance of a Lady. He made great Ponds of Sea-water in the inland Parts at a great diſtance from the Sea, and filled them with Fiſh from the Sea. He had Mountains of Snow in Summer preſerved for him, which was fetched from all Parts. He never would eat Fiſh near the Sea; but in places at a very great diſtance from the Sea, he would be always ſerved with the Curioſities of the Sea; and treated the very Ruſticks there with the ſoft Roes of Lampries and Sturgeons.

His

His Fiſh was dreſſed with an Art, that when they were brought upon the Table, they looked as if they were alive, juſt taken out of the Water. He bathed and ſwam in Ponds of Aromatick Wine, which were filled in an inſtant for him, and ſprinkled with the Flowers of Roſes; himſelf and all the People drinking of the Wine of the Ponds, and his Seat in them perfumed with exquiſite Nard. For his Lamps, he had of the Oyl of Balm. He never lay with the ſame Woman twice, unleſs it was his Wife. His Houſe was a Bawdy-houſe for all his Company, Friends and Servants. His Suppers never coſt leſs than one hundred thouſand Seſterces; and ſometimes reckoning all things, he ſupped at the rate of thrice that Expence. He out-did the ſumptuous Suppers both of *Apicius* and the Emperor *Vitellius*. His Fiſhing-Nets were drawn out of the Ponds, by a Yoke of Oxen. He tied ſome of his poor Retainers ſometimes to a Wheel which went under Water; in which, giving them a good plunge, and then up again, he ſaid, *Thoſe were his Friends of the Race of* Ixion. He pav'd the Courts before the Palace, with *Lacedæmonian* and *Porphyry* Marble, which was alſo yet in being in our memory, and but lately taken up and changed. He had deſigned to give to the City a large Column, having an aſcent within it to the top, where he intended to place the God *Heliogabalus*. But though he propoſed to fetch the Stone from *Thebais* in *Egypt*, he could not be provided with a Rock that was great enough for his Work.

He

He many times had an humor, when his Company was well in drink, to lock them up, and in the Night on a ſudden to ſend in Lions, Leopards, and Bears (diſarmed) into the Room to them; that when they awaked in the Morning, or which was worſe, in the Night, and found themſelves in the ſame Room with Lions, Bears and Panthers, they were ſometimes ſtruck dead with the fright. As to others of his Gueſts of an inferiour Condition, he placed them upon Sacks about the Table, filled only with Wind, which being let out ſuddenly, they were thrown down in an inſtant at the foot of the Table, with their Meat in their Mouths. When the Players upon the Stage had ſometimes pretended to puniſh a Man for Adultery, for example thus and thus, in ſhew; he hath commanded the ſaid Puniſhments to be literally executed. He was ſo kind to the Whores, that he often redeemed them at the Hands of all ſuch as made a Traffick of them; and paid for their freedom, and then ſet them at Liberty. He had often Gladiators to fight before him, as he and his Company were at Table together. He cauſed a Banquetting-Room to be ſet up for him in the Amphitheatre, where, as he dined, he fed his Eyes with the Combats of Gladiators, and the Chaſe of Wild Beaſts. He was the firſt of the *Romans* that ever wore a Garment of Velvet. He never put on the ſame Linen twice; he ſaid, *It was for Beggars to wear Linen twice waſhed.* He appeared in publick after Supper oftentimes in a *Dalmatick*, calling himſelf a

His vain Frolicks.

Fabius and a *Scipio*, when he was in this effeminate Dreſs, only becauſe thoſe Perſons had ſometime worn it in their Youths, which were delicate to a Fault. He pickt up all the Women of Pleaſure that he could find about the Cirque, the Play-houſe, the Race, the Baths, and wherever they were; and aſſembling them all together in ſome publick Houſe, he made an Harangue to them in the Phraſe of *my Fellow Soldiers*, as it was a General ſpeaking to his Army, and then he treated upon the Queſtions with them concerning the ſeveral ſorts of Poſtures and infamous Pleaſures. Next he had the like Conference with all the Pimps and laſcivious Catamites, old and young, that were to be gotten from all Parts. He dreſſed himſelf in the Habit of a Lady, being to meet theſe, with his Breaſts bare; and having concluded his Speech to them, he promiſed them for their Encouragement, as if they were ſo many old Soldiers that had well ſerved in his Cauſe, a Donative of three pieces of Gold each, deſiring them to pray to the Gods, to make him happy in the good encreaſe of their Company.

He commanded his Servants upon a piece of Work which is ſufficiently ridiculous, and yet he did it with promiſes to them of a Reward for their care and pains in it, which was this; that they ſhould bring him a thouſand pound weight of Spiders. He had gotten together, at length, by this means, no leſs than ten times that weight; from whence he ſaid, it was eaſie to make a Judgment of the Greatneſs

neſs of the City of *Rome*. He ſent the Servants of his Kitchin to ſome with Veſſels, ſuppoſed to be full of Proviſion that he had preſented them with; but when they were opened, they were found full of Frogs, Scorpions, Serpents and Flies. Dining, or ſupping he had continually Chariot-Races run before the Rooms and Galleries, where he was; in which he obliged old Men, and ſome of the moſt honourable too, to mount the Box, for the greater diverſion. He ordered ten thouſand Mice, one thouſand Weaſels, and another thouſand of Rats to be gathered together, and ſhewn to him at once. He often tantalized his poor Retainers, with Mock-Dinners, done all in Glaſs, or Wax, or Ivory, or Earthen Ware; upon their Tables and their Napkins, they had Services curiouſly repreſented in Paintings, all which did not hinder them, but they might ſtarve for Hunger, and yet none dared to complain of the excellency of the Feaſt, but waſhed, and went away, as if they had dined never ſo well. He commanded that out of the publick Stores of Corn, which *Trajan* and *Severus* had amaſſed for the Service of the People of *Rome*, for ſeven Years, at a certain Rate of ſo much a Year, there ſhould the allowances of two Years, be given to the Whores, Pimps, and Catamites about the Town; the firſt Year, to go to as many of them as lived within; the ſecond, to as many of them as lived without the Walls of the City.

He had ſometimes four great Dogs to draw his Chariot, as well after he was Emperor as before, when he was at his private Seat in the Country. He appeared at other times in publick, drawn by four great Stags; at other times by Lions; and then he cauſed himſelf to be called the Mother of the Gods: Sometimes Tygers, and then he named himſelf *Bacchus*, whoſe Chariot is drawn by Tygers; and at the ſame time he habited himſelf as thoſe Deities are repreſented, whom he imitated. He had at *Rome* of the little Dragons of *Egypt*, as alſo Sea-horſes, a Crocodile, a Rhinocerot, and of all the ſtrange Beaſts of *Egypt*, that were capable to be tranſported. Oſtriches were often a part of his Bill of Fare. He once entertained the principal Perſons of the City, upon Seats all made of Saffron, which was wonderful; and to complement them, he ſaid, *It was but Graſs in compariſon to what they deſerved.* He paſſed the Actions of the Day in the Night, and thoſe of the Night in the Day; eſteeming this as neceſſary a part of Luxury, as any thing. In the Evening he roſe, and received the Complements of the Court for that Day; when it was Morning, he went to Bed again. He daily preſented his Favourites with ſomething or other of importance. He ſuffered no one ſcarce to go from him, but he made him a Preſent, as if it was of a thing only that he had found; and that he did not value it ſo much, as to keep it himſelf.

His extreme Prodigality.

His Coaches and his Chariots were gilt, and all covered with Jewels; he ſcorned ſuch as were

were but ſilver'd over, or done with Ivory or Braſs. He ſometimes cauſed his Chariot to be drawn by naked, young, and very handſome Girls; two, or three, or four, or more of a Front; and as they were all naked, ſo for the moſt part was he. He had alſo this Cuſtom, to invite to his Banquets eight old Men, all with bald Heads; eight others blind of one Eye; eight others lame of the Gout; eight others that were Deaf; eight Blacks; eight others that were ſo fat, that their Table could ſcarce hold them; and then his Fancy was to make himſelf and the Court merry with them all round. All the ſilver Plate that was ſerved at his Banquets, and all the drinking Cups, and Side-board Veſſels, he gave away frankly amongſt the Company, and did this often. Then as a matter of great importance, he propoſed it to the Company, to invent every one ſome new Rules about Pickles, and Sawces, and fine Eating; they did ſo, and he whoſe Invention was pleaſing to his Palate, received for it a great Reward in a Garment of Silk, which at that time was a Rarity, and held in great Honour. But he whoſe Invention had diſpleaſed him, he deſired him to eat only always of that Diſh, till he ſhould find a better out. He was always placed himſelf in a Seat in the midſt of Flowers, and precious Odours. He loved nothing but what he was told, was very dear; *Becauſe*, he ſaid, *the greatneſs of the Price raiſeth the Appetite.*

He was a perfect *Monſieur-Ragou* in his Houſe, as alſo a Perfumer, a Vintner, and a Pimp,

and cauſed himſelf to be drawn in Pictures accordingly. At one Supper he hath had the Heads of ſix hundred Oſtriches, for the ſake only of the Brains. Sometimes his Banquet was in this manner. He had two and twenty Services of all ſorts of Viands, whoſe Names at each Service, which was made in the order of the Letters of the Alphabet, began all with one and the ſame Letter. Then betwixt every Service they waſhed, and after that, every Man betook himſelf to his Miſtreſs; he and his Friends, and they were to ſwear, that it was not without an accompliſh'd Pleaſure. Another time, his Banquet was in this manner; he ordered each Service to be made ready at the Houſe of a ſeveral Friend, and as one lived by the Capitol, another upon Mount *Palatine*, another at a third place, another upon Mount *Cælius*, and another on the other ſide of the *Tyber*; the Company all went to every one's Houſe to eat each Service in order; and then waſhing at each Service and enjoying their Miſtreſſes, the whole day was ſcarce time enough for them to finiſh one Feaſt. Some ſay, that he built Baths in ſeveral Places, and only waſhed once in them, and then immediately deſtroyed them, for fear of accuſtoming himſelf to any; and that he did the ſame with ſeveral Houſes and Apartments that he built. But I am apt to think, that thoſe things and many others, which exceed all belief, are rather impoſed upon him by Perſons who have been willing entirely to blacken his memory, only to make him ſo much the better foil for his Succeſſour. It

It is ſaid, that he redeemed one Courteſan, who was very handſome, at the Price of a Hundred Thouſand Seſterces, and afterwards honoured her, as much, as if ſhe was a Virgin untouched. One asking him, whilſt he was a private Man, being then ſo Extravagant, if he did not fear the becoming Poor; he anſwered, *What can I do better for my ſelf, than to be my own Heir, and the Heir of my Wife?* However, he had Eſtates demiſed to him by a great many, in conſideration of his Father. He ſaid that he deſired to have no Children, for fear, that it ſhould make him a good Huſband. Inſtead of Coals, he burnt Frankincenſe, Cinnamon, Caſſia, and other *Indian* Sweet-Woods for his Fires, in his Dining Rooms. He never when a private Man, travelled with leſs than a Train of ſixty Carriages; which made his Grandmother many times to ſay of him, that he would ſpend all. But when Emperor, he never went but with a Train of ſix hundred; ſaying, that the King of *Perſia*, when he travels, employs Ten Thouſand Camels; and *Nero* had been attended into the Country with Fifteen Hundred Chariots: The occaſion of which great Train of *Heliogabalus*, was the multitude of his Pimps, Bawds, Whores, Bardaſſes, and his filthy Crew of Men and Women, that he had always with him. Bathing he was always accompanied with Women; whom he moſt officiouſly rubb'd and ſmooth'd, and took away their ſuperfluous Hair, with a depilatory Unguent, made for that purpoſe; and which,

after them, he uſed to himſelf, and took off his Beard with it: and after this, he with a Raſour, with his own Hand ſhaved, what cannot modeſtly be ſpoken of; the Men alſo that he loved, and to whom he ſubjected his Body in the nature of a Miſtreſs; for the filthy pleaſures that he found in them. He ſtrewed one whole Gallery belonging to the Baths, all over with the Duſt of Gold and Silver; regretting that it could not be done with Amber too: and this he did often, whitherſoever he ſtirred out on Foot, if it was but to his Horſe, or to his Coach; as the Cuſtom is, to do it with the fineſt Sand to the Emperors at this day.

He never wore the ſame Pair of Shooes twice. It is denyed that he ever put on the ſame Rings twice. His beſt Robes he oftentimes tore and ſlaſhed in pieces. He commanded Ships to be ſunk in the Port, that were come in from abroad, laden with Merchandiſes; ſaying that this was a mark of a great Spirit. His Cloſeſtools were of Gold; and his Chamber Pots were of Alabaſter and Myrrh. *Had I*, he ſaid, *Ever an Heir, I would appoint him ſuch a Governour, as ſhould oblige him to do all the things that I have done, or ſhall do.* He had alſo this Cuſtom with him; that one day, he would have nothing at his Table but Pheaſants, and all his Services ſhould be of the fleſh of Pheaſants dreſt in ſeveral ways. Another day nothing but Pullets. Another day all of one ſort of Fiſh. Another, of another. Another day all Pork. Another day all Ofriches. Another day all Herbs;

and

and ſo of Fruits, and milk Meats, and ſweet Meats. He often ſaid to his Company, that he had provided them Miſtreſſes of extraordinary Beauty to lie with; as they would find when they went to their Beds. But he ſent them to Bed in the dark, becauſe they ſhould not ſee their Faces, till the next Morning; and then, who were they, but old *Negroe* Women? He put the ſame Trick upon them, with *Negroe* Boys. He laughed ſo loud in Publick, that ſometimes in the Play-houſe, no body was heard but only he. He Sung, he Danced to the ſound of the Flute, he ſounded the Trumpet, he played upon the Shepheards Pipe, and touch'd very well the Organ. He hath gone about in one day to all the Whores of the Cirque, the Play-houſe, the Amphitheatre, and all parts of the City diſguiſed: and giving them, every one, ſome pieces of Gold in their Hand; without effecting any with them: ſays he, Antoninus *gives you this, but tell no body.*

He invented certain new ways for his Luſts, in which he out-did the monſtrous Poſtures of all former times, and all the Conjunctions of *Tiberius*, *Caligula* and *Nero*. His Fortune was foretold him by the Prieſts of *Syria*, that as he would be a great Profaner of the means that ſerve to Generation; ſo he ſhould one day come to dye by his own Hands. He believed it, and provided himſelf therefore for it. For he had provided himſelf ſilken Cords, if neceſſity was, to Hang himſelf. He had provided himſelf Swords of Gold, if neceſſity was, to Stab himſelf. He had provided himſelf

His death foretold.

Poy-

Poyſons, which he carried about him in Emeralds, Jacynths, and other Pretious Stones, if any thing ill happened, that he could no otherwiſe avoid, to Poyſon himſelf. He had built a very high Tower, with ſteps to it of Gold, enriched with pretious Stones, from whence to throw himſelf down headlong: becauſe *he would have his death*, he ſaid, to be, *as his life was, ſumptuous; there ſhould be a lively Image of Luxury in it; and it ſhould be ſaid, that no body had dyed ſo, as he.* But all this ſignified nothing. For he was killed by a Rabble of Soldiers; and dragged moſt naſtily through the Streets; and drawn through the Kennel, and at laſt thrown into the River of *Tyber*; with whom ended the Princes of the name of *Antoninus*. A name, to which if his Birth, as it was Spurious, was any Title; yet his Life was the laſt Diſgrace to it, in the ſight of all the World.

He is killed by the Rabble.

Your moſt Sacred Majeſty, O Conſtantine, will perhaps think it ſtrange, with others; that this Peſt, which I have given this account of, was ſuffered to Reign ſo long, as almoſt three whole years; and that none appeared in the mean time to reſcue out of his Hands the Honour of the *Roman* Empire: becauſe in the Reigns of *Nero, Caligula, Vitellius*, and the reſt of the Princes of this ſtamp, there never wanted a Man to murder a Tyrant. But above all things, Pardon me if I have been offenſive to your modeſty in any of the Paſſages of ſo diſſolute a Life: I have willingly ſuppreſſed a great many other of his Lewdneſſes, becauſe I could

I could not name them for ſhame: and as for thoſe, that I have named, as they are what I have found amongſt divers Writers, ſo I have wrapped them up in as clean a Napkin as I could; remembring very well, what your Majeſty is uſed to ſay; *That to be an Emperor is a ſtroak of mere Fortune*; which raiſes ſometimes very Indifferent, and ſometimes the Worſt of Men to be ſo: and your Majeſty does very graciouſly to add to that, *That it lies upon the Perſons themſelves, whom Fortune hath reduced under that neceſſity of an Empire, to make themſelves worthy of the Place, where they are.*

Thus much concerning therefore *Varius Antoninus Heliogabalus*. It is what I have collected indifferently out of the Greek and Latin Hiſtorians. Your Majeſties Commands to me, to preſent you with this Life in its place, after the others which are antecedent to it, and which your Majeſty hath accepted, was an Authority abundant to me to ſuperſede all thoſe thoughts that had otherwiſe made me unwilling, and poſſeſſed me with a Reluctancy to meddle in a thing of this Nature. I ſhall now proceed to the Lives of thoſe that follow. The firſt of which is, that moſt excellent Prince, *Alexander Severus*; who was one of thirteen years Reign. Then there will be *Aurelian*, who was another excellent Prince; and *Claudius*, of whom, being the Author of your Majeſty's Race, I ſhould be afraid to write the real Truth to you, leſt thoſe who have not all the reſpect that they ought, for the praiſes which are due to great Souls,

Souls, ſhould pretend that I Flatter, if I did not know, that I ſhould be fully juſtified by others in all that I have to ſay. To theſe is to be added *Diocleſian*, the Father of an Age of Gold; and *Maximian*, the Father of an Iron Age, as they commonly call them; with all the reſt, to the Perſon of your Majeſty; whoſe Reign, I would ſay, Sir, yours, will be a Subject to employ the Eloquenteſt Pens, and happy are they to whom Nature is ſo kind, to have enabled them with gifts for ſo grand a Work. Nor yet are we to omit *Licinius*, or *Marcus Aurelius Severus*, or *Maxentius*; whoſe Rights are all devolved upon your Majeſty; and from whoſe Virtues we ought not to derogate: For though it is the method of the Generality of Writers to take away from the unſucceſsful and the beaten Side, yet I ſhall think this an unfit thing to be done, when I conſider, that when I ſhall have faithfully ſaid all the good of them, that I can find in our Memoirs to be never ſo true, yet it will all but make ſo much the greater Acceſſion to your Glory.

THE

A. Chriſti CCXXIII.

THE Life and Reign OF THE EMPEROR *Aurelius Alexander Severus.*

Addreſſed to the

EMPEROR *Conſtantine the Great.*

By ÆLIUS LAMPRIDIUS.

AFter that Peſt of an Emperor, *Varius Heliogabalus* was killed, who had really nothing of a true *Antoninus* in him; and therefore as the Senate, by their Authority, degraded him from that name, and eraſed it out of the Records, ſo neither am I very

very willing to give it him. *Aurelius Alexander Severus* his Couſin-German, who was Born at the City of *Arca Cæſarea* in *Phœnicia* in *Syria*, being the Son of *Varius Marcellus* by *Mammæa*, the Siſter of *Semiamira*, the Mother of *Heliogabalus*, received the Empire to the general Relief and Comfort of Mankind. He had ſome years before been Created *Cæſar* by the Senate, at the time of the death of *Opilius Macrinus*; and now the Senate both made him Emperor, and gave him the Title of the Father of the Country, and inveſted him with the Tribunitian and Proconſular Powers; and with the right of a fifth Reference, all in one and the ſame day. And for fear that ſuch an accumulation of Honours ſhould ſeem to be Precipitate, I will here in the firſt place mention the Reaſon, as well why he ſuffered it on his part, as why the Senate had thought fit to do it on theirs; becauſe certainly otherwiſe, it was neither for the Gravity of the Senate to confer all thoſe things at once; nor for the Reputation of a good Prince ſo to accept them. The Army had ſeveral times been guilty of a Practice of making whom they pleaſed Emperors in a hurry, and changing them as eaſily, when they had done; ſaying, in the defence of themſelves, that they did not know that the Senate had on their part nominated any Perſon at all to the Empire. For thus they had ſet up *Peſcennius Niger*, *Clodius Albinus*, and *Avidius Caſſius*; as heretofore they did *Julius Vindex*, and *Lucius Antonius*. *Severus* was himſelf ſet up by them, in one place, about the ſame time that *Niger* was in ano-

His Extraction.

Honours done to him.

another, and *Albinus* in another; and yet then the Senate had actually appointed *Didius Julianus* to ſucceed after *Pertinax*. And this thing had occaſioned Civil-Wars in the Empire; in which Countrymen againſt Countrymen fighting, what were they but Murderers one of another? Upon this account therefore it was that all expedition was uſed to inveſt *Alexander Severus* with all the Honours of the Crown immediately, and at once, which he ſhould otherwiſe have received ſucceſſively and in the courſe of many years. And this was yet further promoted, by the very great inclination which both the Senate and the People had towards him, after that Peſt, who had not only diſhonoured the name of the *Antoninuſſes*, but was a ſhame to all the *Roman* Empire. So all the marks of Power, and the Titles of Honour, belonging to the Crown, were given him with a forwardneſs, in which every one appeared to have an Emulation to excel. He was the firſt of all the Emperors that ever received ſo many Royalties all at one time: and indeed his Quality, as he had been already for ſome years a *Cæſar*, ſpoke for him; but yet the honeſty of his Life and Manners did it much more; and it had gained him beſides a great eſteem, that *Heliogabalus* had attempted to kill him, but could not, becauſe of the Oppoſition to it of the Soldiers and the Senate. And then that which Crowns all, is; he approved himſelf worthy of that Care that the Senate had taken of his Preſervation, worthy of the Affections of the Soldiers, and

worthy

worthy of the Sentiments all good Men had to prefer him, as they did, to the Empire.

His Mother being called *Mammæa*, as I ſaid, he is mentioned by a great many by the name of *Alexander Mammæus*, from her. This *Alexander* from a Child, was ſo inſtructed in the knowledge of the good Arts concerning the things, as well Civil as Military, that he willingly ſuffered not one day to paſs, in which he did not exerciſe himſelf in the one or the other. His firſt Maſters, in his Infancy, for the Elements, were *Valerius Cordus*, *Titus Veturius*, and *Aurelius Philippus*, a Servant of his Fathers, who hath ſince writ his life. His Maſter in the Grammar, was *Neon*; in Rhetorick, *Serapion*; and in Philoſophy, *Stylion*: that is, this was in his own Country, and for the *Græcian* Learning. At *Rome*, for the Latin, his Maſter in the Grammar was *Scaurinus*, the Son of the famous Doctor of that name; in Rhetorick, *Julius Frontinus*, *Bæbius Macrinus*, and *Julius Granianus*; of the latter of which, there are Declamations now extant. But in the *Latin* Learning, his Proficiency was not over-great; as it ſufficiently appears by his Speeches which he made to the Senate; and thoſe others that he made to the Soldiers and to the People. Nor did he very much love the Latin Eloquence. But the learned Men in it, he had a great eſteem for, and apprehended thir Pens; for he was not willing that they ſhould give him an ill report in their Writings; therefore he thought them worthy to be *By* him upon all occaſions; and

His Education and Maſters.

with

with every thing that he did, publickly or privately, if they had not been preſent at it, he acquainted them himſelf, and deſired them to be informed carefully of the truth of all things, and accordingly to repreſent them to the World.

He renounced the Title of *Dominus*, that is Lord; and ordered that they ſhould write Letters to him, as to a private Perſon, reſerving only the name of Emperor. He refuſed the Jewels, to his Shooes and his Cloaths, which had been worn by *Heliogabalus*. He went in a White Veſtment, as he is commonly Drawn; and plain, not Embroidered nor Fringed with Gold; and of the Common Stuffs. He carried himſelf ſo frankly with his Friends, that he often obliged them to ſit down by him; and went to their Houſes to their Entertainments without Ceremony; and received them again continually to his own Table without a formal Invitation. He was to be waited upon, with as eaſie Acceſs as a Senator: whereas before in ſome other Reigns, a Prince would not ſuffer himſelf to be ſeen. He was Handſome, as to his Perſon, and well made, as we ſee him at this day in his Pictures and Statues. He had a Cavalier Meen and Stature, his Strength anſwerable; and he both knew his Vigour, and took care to preſerve it. Some called him the *Pious Alexander*, he was ſo amiable, at leaſt as a good and uſeful Prince, all the Earth eſteemed him. He drew a Lot at the Temple of *Fortune*, at the City of *Paleſtrina*, in

His Modeſty and Moderation.

His Perſonage.

the time that *Heliogabalus* waited for his Life, out of *Virgil*; which was this, *Æn. 6.*

——— *Siqua fata aspera rumpas,*
Tu Marcellus eris. ———

Which was as much as to signifie; *That if he but escaped the present Danger, that he was in, he would be a glorious Emperor.*

Occasion of his Name.

The occasion of his Name of *Alexander* was from hence. In his Native City of *Arca Cæsarea* in *Phœnicia*, there was a Temple Dedicated to *Alexander the Great*, whither upon the Festival of that Prince, according to the Custom of the Country, his Father, and *Mammæa* his Mother, went to assist at the usual Solemnities. But by accident his Mother fell into Labour, and was delivered of him in this Temple; so she called him *Alexander*: and the day of the Birth of *Alexander* the Son of *Mammæa*, is the same with the day of the Death of *Alexander the Great*. The Senate offered him, the name of *Antoninus*. But he refused it; although he had an Affinity, as well as *Heliogabalus*, to the Emperor *Antoninus Caracallus*; and an Affinity, which was so much better than his, as it was without the stain of his Bastardise: For the Emperor *Septimius Severus* had Married a Noble Lady out of the East, whose Horoscope, as he had heard it was; *That she should be the Wife of a Prince*; though he was then but in a private Condition. Which Lady's Sister's Daughters, were one of them the Mother of this *Alexander*, and the

the other the Mother of *Varius Heliogabalus*. So the two Sons were truely Couſin-*Germans* to one another, and equal upon that Foot in their Relation to *Antoninus Caracallus*. But it was not only the name of *Antoninus* which he refuſed; but the Senate by a Decree preſented him the Title of *Alexander the Great*, and he refuſed that alſo.

Now it will not be amiſs here to ſubjoyn his Speech to the Senate, in which he excuſes his Acceptation of the one and the other Name. Only in the firſt place I will report the Senate's Acclamations upon this occaſion, out of the Records of the City, as I find them upon the Day, but one, before the *Nones* of *March*; when the Senate being aſſembled in the Temple of *Concord*, and *Alexander* at their repeated requeſt diſpenſing at laſt with himſelf to repair to them, though he knew that their Buſineſs was to treat of the Honours which they deſigned to give him, they cried as he entred thus;

Acclamations of the Senate.

The Gods ſave our Innocent Auguſtus. *The Gods ſave the Emperor* Alexander. *The Gods have given you to us. The Gods preſerve you. The Gods have delivered you out of the Hands of the Impure. The Gods Eternalize your Reign. You ſuffered a great deal under the Impure Tyrant, Impure and Obſcene as he was, you always regretted to ſee him. The Gods have Rooted him up. The Gods preſerve your Majeſty. That Infamous Emperor hath juſtly been Condemned. Under your Reign we are happy. The State is happy to*

be ſubjected to you. The Infamous Emperor hath been dragged for an Example. That Luxurious Prince is juſtly puniſhed. The Profaner of all Honour hath been juſtly Puniſhed. The Immortal Gods give a long Life to your Majeſty. The Judgments of the Gods appear in your Elevation.

Here *Alexander* gave them thanks; and then they went on again.

Antoninus Alexander, *the Gods ſave you.* Antoninus Aurelius, *the Gods preſerve you.* Antoninus *the* Pious, *the Gods preſerve you. We beſeech your Majeſty to take the name of* Antoninus. *To do that Honour to the good Emperors of that Name, to be called an* Antoninus. *Puriſie the Name of the* Antoninuſſes. *What* Heliogabalus *hath Deformed, let your Majeſty Puriſie. Re-eſtabliſh the Honour of the Name of the* Antoninuſſes. *Let the blood of the* Antoninuſſes *know it ſelf again.* Antoninus Marcus *hath been injured. Let your Majeſty Avenge him. Avenge the injury done to* Verus Antoninus. *Avenge the injury done to* Antoninus Caracallus; *whoſe Fortitude at leaſt was admirable. Worſe than ever was* Commodus, *was* Heliogabalus *only; who really was no Emperor, nor an* Antoninus, *nor a Citizen, nor a Senator, nor a Gentleman, nor a* Roman. *Health and Life attend your Majeſty. The Lives of the* Antoninuſſes *attend* Alexander, *and let him Proſper. Let him be called an* Antoninus, *and let him Proſper. Let* Antoninus *Conſecrate again*

gain the Temples of the Antoninuſſes. *Let* Antoninus *ſurmount the* Parthians *and* Perſians. *Let a Sacred Perſon receive a Sacred Name. The Gods preſerve you. In you,* Antoninus, *we have all things: with you,* Antoninus, *we have all things.*

After theſe Accclamations, the Emperor took the Liberty to ſpeak thus to them.

Fathers of the Senate,

THis is not the firſt of my Obligations to you. I am to thank you for the Honour of my Name of Cæſar, *which you gave me ſo long ſince, and for my Life which you alſo have preſerved. I thank you, as for the Empire, ſo for the Style of* Auguſtus, *which you now give me; and for the Pontifical, the Tribunitian, and the Proconſular Powers; all which by altogether a new Example, you have liberally conferred upon me in one day.*

The Senate reply'd, and cry'd;

As your Majeſty hath accepted theſe things, ſo accept the Name of Antoninus. *Let not the Senate, let not the Princes the* Antoninuſſes *be unworthy to receive this favour of your Majeſty. The Gods ſave the Emperor* Antoninus. *The Gods preſerve you. Let a Coin be made in the Name of* Antoninus. *Let* Antoninus *Conſecrate again the Temples of the* Antoninuſſes.

The Emperor reſumed his Diſcourſe, and ſaid;

Fathers of the Senate, *I earneſtly deſire you not to engage me to be called to the neceſſity of ſatisfying ſo great a Name as that is, when my Own, which I have from my Birth, and which is but a Foreign one, I find is too Burdenſome to me. For ſo it is with theſe Great Names, they are Burdens; and not to anſwer them, it is as ill as if the Name of* Cicero *ſhould be born by a Mute, or the Name of* Varro, *by a Blockhead, or that of the Pious* Metellus *by a Villain. And that the Gods may avert ſo ill an Omen, who is there that can be pleaſed to ſee, that a Name from whence great Actions are expected, is not ſuſtained in its Grandeur, by him that bears it; if he is in a Station ſo to do.*

Here the Senate interrupted him, with the like Acclamations as before; and then he went on.

You know, Gentlemen, to what a heighth of Glory, or rather to what a Divinity the Name of Antoninus *hath been carried in the Perſons of four Princes; whoſe Piety, whoſe Learning, whoſe Innocence, and whoſe Fortitude, if we conſider them ſeverally; What could be more Religious than* Antoninus Pius? *What more knowing than* Marcus Antoninus? *What more ſincere than* Verus Antoninus? *And what more Brave and Valorous than* Antoninus Caracallus? *I am not willing to mention* Commodus Antoninus *upon this occaſion to you; except it is to ſay that he was ſo much the worſe, becauſe with that ill life of his, he yet continued in the uſe of the*

Name of Antoninus. Antoninus Diadumenus, *had not time, nor Age to ſhew himſelf: an Art of his Father, had put that Name upon him.*

Here the Senate broke out into the like Acclamations as before: and then he ſaid,

But eſpecially you may eaſily remember, Gentlemen, How things lately went, when the Filthieſt not only of all Men, but Brutes, took it upon him to bear the Name of Antoninus; *who at the ſame time in Impurity and Luxury outdid* Nero, Vitellius, Commodus, *and all their wicked Confederates. You remember, what Sighs paſſed at that time, in all Companies of the People and the Gentry: and how they all cryed with one Voice, that this Wretch is not fit to be at all called an* Antoninus. *This Peſt violates that Holy Name.*

Here the Senate replyed in theſe Acclamations.

The Gods Protect us from all the like evils again. We fear them not under your Reign. We are ſecure under the Government of your Majeſty. Your Majeſty is above all Vice. Your Majeſty hath ſurmounted, hath vanquiſhed the Temptation of all ſuch Crimes and Diſgraces. You are an Honour to the Name of Antoninus. *We are certain of this; we are well perſuaded of it; we preſume upon it, without the fear of ever repenting ourſelves: we have approved you from your Youth, and this day, we are confirmed in our Sentiments.*

The Emperor replied again and ſaid,

Refuſes the Name Antoninus.

It is not, Fathers of the Senate, that I apprehend my falling at any time into ſuch Vices, that I deſire to decline a Name, which is to all ſo Venerable; nor yet can I diſtruſt the Merits of my paſt Life ſo, as to be aſhamed to take it upon me. But it is in Truth, becauſe in the firſt place, I do not delight to aſſume what is the Name of a ſtrange Family; and next, becauſe I ſee very well, that it is to impoſe too great a burden upon me.

Here the Senate repeated their Acclamations as before. He went on,

For with as much reaſon as I ſhould take the Name of Antoninus, *I might take that of* Trajan *too: I might as well take that of* Titus: *I might as well take that of* Veſpaſian.

The Senate anſwered him to this.

Your Majeſty is an Auguſtus, *and accepts that Name; ſo be you alſo an* Antoninus.

The Emperor ſaid,

I ſee very well, now, Fathers of the Senate, what it is that moves you to preſs this Name upon us. You think, that we may as well be called Antonini, *although it is the Name of another's Family, as all we who ſucceed to the Empire are entitled in our Stiles* Auguſti: *which we are, becauſe we have an hereditary Right to be ſo, as being*

being as it were by Adoption, the Sons of the first Auguſtus, *who was the Founder of the Empire. The* Antoninuſſes *themſelves were called* Auguſti. *Now* Antoninus Pius *adopted* Marcus *and* Verus, *to be his Sons and Succeſſors. This Adoption made it a Right to them, to take his Name, which became alſo hereditary to* Commodus, *by reaſon that he was the Son of* Marcus; *but without this Right, it was a Trick of his Father, which put the Name upon* Diadumenus. *It was affected in the Perſon of* Caracallus, *and it was profaned to the laſt degree by* Heliogabalus.

Here the Senate cried,

The Gods ſave the Emperor Alexander, *our* Auguſtus. *We congratulate your Modeſty, your Prudence, your Innocence, your Integrity. This ſhews us what will be the excellency of your Reign. We are raviſh'd at it. Your Majeſty will direct the Senate hereafter to make a Choice of the beſt Princes. Your Majeſty will juſtifie the Judgments of the Senate. The Gods ſave* Alexander, *our* Auguſtus. *Let* Alexander *our* Auguſtus, *conſecrate the Temples of the* Antoninuſſes. *Our* Cæſar, *our* Auguſtus, *our* Emperor, *the Gods ſave you. Conquer, Proſper, and Reign many Years.*

The Emperor reſumed himſelf again, and ſaid,

I underſtand then, I have obtained from you, Fathers of the Senate, what I deſired. I take this very obligingly, and I give you, and owe

you

you infinite Thanks. It ſhall be my endeavour, that my own Name, which I bring with me, the firſt of any upon the Throne of Rome, *may become ſuch as not to be unworthy to be coveted by others after me, and to be recommended by the good Opinions of this moſt Pious Senate.*

Here the Senate cried,

Alexander *the* Great, *the Gods ſave you. Tho' your Majeſty refuſed the Name of* Antoninus, *receive the Title of the* Great. *The Gods ſave* Alexander *the* Great. They repeated this often.

The Emperor ſaid,

and the Appellation of Great.

You have offered to me, Gentlemen, in this, a thing of a greater difficulty to do, than it was to aſſume the Name of Antoninus; *to which if I had conſented, it might have been attributed to either my Affinity to the Princes of that Name, or to a mutual Love of the ſame Name, upon the ſame Throne. But why me, to take your Title of* Great? *What have I yet done, that is ſo? If* Alexander *and* Pompey *were ſo called, yet it was after the great Exploits of the one, and the great Triumphs of the other. Therefore ſpeak no more of this, my honoured Fathers, and rather than ſuggeſt to me the Title of the* Great, *believe me to be one of yourſelves, and you certainly are a magnificent Aſſembly.*

After this, they repeated the Acclamation, *The Gods ſave* Aurelius Alexander *our Auguſtus*, and ſo ended this matter.

There

There were ſeveral other things done in the Senate, that day. But when the Houſe had riſen, the Emperor returned as it were in Triumph home, with much more Honour upon him by refuſing, than if he had accepted of thoſe ſuppoſed Names. His Firmneſs to himſelf in it, and the entire Gravity of his behaviour gave him a Reputation, which every body was ſenſible of, to obſerve, that the whole Senate together was not able to over-perſuade one young Man. He diſcovered the ſame Vigour of mind in his Affairs with the Soldiers, and a wonderful and ſingular Conſtancy in correcting their Inſolencies; ſo that although he could not be perſuaded by all the ſolicitations of the Senate, to receive either the Name of *Antoninus*, or of *Alexander* the *Great*; yet the Soldiers fixed upon him that of *Alexander Severus*; and this not only conciliated him a great Reſpect in his own time, but it will much redound to his Glory to all Poſterity; conſidering that it is derived purely from his own Boſom, and it is what his intrinſick Merit and Courage, directed them to give him. He did not ſtick indeed to caſhier whole Legions at a time, for daring to mutiny; nor to animadvert very ſeverely upon the Soldiers, that had committed any thing which but ſeemed to be unjuſt, wherein he exceeded the Exactneſs and Boldneſs of all the Princes his predeceſſors, ſince the formation of the Empire under *Julius Cæſar*.

Why call'd Severus.

There were ſome Omens which from his Birth had preſignified his future Reign, which were

Omens of his future Reign.

were these. First, the day of his Birth was the same with the day of the Death of *Alexander* the *Great*; in whose Temple his Mother was delivered of him, and whose Name he therefore took from thence. Then the same day that he was born, a Pigeon's Egg of the colour of Purple, was taken, and by a good Woman presented to his Mother; from whence the Soothsayers said, *That he would one day, and it would be quickly too, be an Emperor, but not that he would reign long.* In the mean time, whilst his Mother was delivered of him in the Temple, a Picture of the Emperor *Trajan*, which was hanging over the head of her Bed at home, fell down into the Bed. His Nurse was of the Name of *Olympias*; and the Mother of *Alexander* the *Great* was of the same. His Foster-Father was a Country-man, of the Name of *Philip*, and the Father of *Alexander* the *Great* was the same. Upon the day that he was born, they say, there appeared a Star of the first magnitude in the Heavens, all the day long over the City of *Arca Cæsarea*; and the Sun was crowned with a bright Circle about it, whilst it pointed upon his Father's House. A Laurel in his Father's Garden which was set by the side of a Peach, in one year had over-topped the Peach. The Peach being *malum Persicum*; this, those who pretended to Augury, said, was an Omen that he should one day Conquer the *Persians*. The Night before his Mother was delivered of him, she dreamt she should be brought to Bed of a little purple-coloured Dragon; and his Father had dreamt

dreamt at the ſame time that he was carried up to the Heavens upon the Wings of the Image of *Victory*, which is in the Houſe of the Senate at *Rome*. He conſulted, when he was a Youth, with a Soothſayer about his Fortune in the way of drawing Lots. The firſt Lot which he drew ſaid, *That the Empire of the Heavens, the Earth, and the Sea, awaited him*; by which it was eaſie to underſtand, that he ſhould one day be Deified. The ſecond ſaid, *That the Empire paramount, awaited him*; which was plainly no other, than the Empire of *Rome*. Another Lot that he drew, was theſe Verſes of *Virgil*, Æn. 6.

Excudent alii ſpirantia mollius æra.
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
Hæ tibi erunt Artes, pacique imponere morem:
Parcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbis.

That is, *That his Arts ſhould be Government, and the giving of Laws of War and Peace; and that he ſhould be the Miniſter of Mercy and Juſtice to the People.* There were ſeveral other ſigns of his future Grandeur beſides all theſe. He had a Fire and a Vivacity in his Eyes extraordinary. He looked one down with it, you could not hold your Eyes againſt his long. His Mind diſcovered a Power of Divination in it very frequently, ſo that he ſpoke of things to come, as really they did. He had a Memory ſo happy, that none but *Acholius*, hath ſaid, that he was once prompted or aſſiſted in any thing.

Coming

Coming very young to the Empire, he acted altogether in all things with the Advice of his Mother, as if she had reigned in Conjunction with him. And indeed she was a good and pious Lady, but covetous, and loved to amass Money to a fault. He began his Reign with a general purgation of all the Magistrates and Officers of the promotion of the impure *Heliogabalus*; being Persons whom that Prince had preferred to the greatest Dignities out of the very Lees of Mankind. He clear'd the State of them. He purged the Senate and the Order of the Gentry of them. He purged the Tribes of the City. He turned out all obscene and infamous Persons from all Places in the Court, in which last, he made such a Reform, that retain'd not a Mouth, but what was necessary. Because *an Emperor*, he said, *was an ill Steward of the People; who out of their Bowels feeds a Company of unnecessary Mouths, that are useless to the State.* He looked carefully after the Magazines of Provisions, and the administration thereof to the Soldiers; out of whose allowances, if the Tribunes had made any unlawful Gain to themselves, he punished it with Death. As for Causes and Matters of Law, he ordered them first to be well considered in all their Circumstances by his Ministers, and his Council Learned in the Law, whereof *Ulpian* was the Chief; and when they had done, he directed them to make a Report of their Judgments to him.

Reforms the Government.

He moderated an infinite number of Laws concerning the Rights of the People, and those

of

of the Exchequer. In which caſes he always communicated them with twenty great Lawyers, beſides others who were wiſe and eloquent Men, to the number of no leſs than fifty generally; ſo that there were as many Votes to a Conſtitution of his, as to an Act of the Senate. Theſe Perſons ſpoke admirably well in his Councils; every one's ſuffrage was asked, which they writ down one after another; time being allowed them firſt to examine things very well, and to weigh what they had to ſay, becauſe no one ſhould complain that he had been obliged to give his Judgment upon ſuch Matters of Importance, without a due premeditation. Then he had this Cuſtom, that if it was a thing of Right to be treated upon, he called only the Learned and the Eloquent Doctors to ſpeak to it. But if it was a Military Affair, he ſent for the old Officers and Soldiers, Men skilled in War and Encampments, and the Situation of places; and together with thoſe he particularly adviſed with ſuch as underſtood that Hiſtory; of whom he enquired, what had at any time been done in the like rencounters, by the antient Emperors, or other great Captains, whether at home or abroad. If at any time he happened to ſee a Man who lay under the Character of having robbed the Province under his Government, he was ready with his Fingers as it were (ſays *Encolpius*, who was one that was very familiar with him) to pull out his Eyes, he had ſuch a hatred to that baſeneſs. To which *Septimius* adds, that altho' they

they had not been as yet convicted, yet he had ſuch an averſion to them, for the Scandal only, that if he ſaw them by any ſudden Accident, the Commotion he was in, would ſet him vomiting, and all his Face on a Fire, and he would not be able to ſpeak for ſome time. And certainly, as one called *Septimius Arabinus*, who had been tried for this, but acquitted in the Reign of *Heliogabalus*, came one day in Company with ſome of the Senators to ſalute him, he no ſooner ſaw him, but he cried; O *ye ſupreme Powers!* O Jupiter! O *ye immortal Gods! Is* Arabinus *alive, and a Senator? It may be, he hopes for the ſame favour from me, that he had from* Heliogabalus. *But I am ſorry he takes me to be ſuch a Fool.*

The Complement in ſaluting him was very plain, and by his own Name, *Hail* Alexander. If any one had pretended to do, or ſay any thing that was ſweeter than the Cuſtom was to be, he was ſent away as a Flatterer, if the place permitted it; or he was laught at ſufficiently in caſe that his Condition did not make him ſubject to a greater Affront. He ordered to all the Senators, as they had ſaluted him, Chairs to ſit down. But he declared to admit none to pay their Reverences to him in this kind, but Perſons of Honeſty and good Repute; forbidding all ſuch as knew themſelves to be otherwiſe, by the common Crier, to come near him; for if he once diſcovered them, it ſhould coſt them their Lives. He refuſed to be adored as *Heliogabalus* was, after the manner of the Kings of *Perſia*. The moſt

moſt corrupt Magiſtrates, he ſaid, always complain the moſt of Poverty, thinking by that means to conceal the Crimes of their Briberies and ill Lives. This he ſaid often, and it was his real Sentiment. To which he added a known Obſervation upon this Subject, *That he who takes away a great deal, and gives but a little to Vouchers to ſpeak for him, will however always be ſafe.*

He choſe himſelf one Captain of the Guards, and appointed a Governour of the City of *Rome* entirely by the Advice of the Senate. He made a ſecond Captain of the Guards, of one who had retired out of the way, purpoſely to avoid it; ſaying, *The unwillingneſs of a Man to accept of Commands in the State, was the beſt Recommendation to them.* He never created a Senator without the Concurrence to it of all the Members of that Houſe that were preſent; whoſe Votes were asked round, after Teſtimonies given of the Life and Manners of the Party to be choſen, by grave Perſons; who if they falſified, were to be degraded, and caſt into the loweſt Claſs of all the People; and ſometimes condemned, as in Caſes of Perjury, to loſe their Eſtates, and be baniſhed for ever without Mercy. He created no Men Senators, but upon great Recommendations; ſaying, *That a Man ought to be very conſiderable, that is worthy to be ſo advanced*; and he never neither advanced the Sons of infranchiſed Servants, to be Gentlemen; becauſe he ſaid, *The Order of the Gentry was the Seminary of the Senate.* *His Deference to the Senate.*

His excellent Temper.

He was a Prince of that great Temper, that he never ſuffered his Servants to part with him when once they were placed. He was ſo courteous and ſo gracious to every body, that he viſited when ſick, his Friends, of whatever Condition they were. He deſired every one to ſpeak their Sentiments freely to him, and he hearkened to what they ſaid patiently; and ordered things according to their Advices, as much as in Juſtice it was poſſible. And if any thing by them had not been done ſo well as it ought, he convinced them of it, but it was without haughtineſs and without bitterneſs. He obliged them all to ſit down upon Chairs by him, and informed himſelf always about the abſent. In fine, his Mother *Mammæa*, and *Memmia* his Wife, who was the Daughter of *Sulpitius*, of the Conſular Order, and the Grand-Daughter of *Catulus*, objected to him his too great Civility, and told him, *It weakned his Sovereign Power, and rendred it deſpicable*; to which he anſwered, *That on the contrary it was the way to live long, and with ſafety.* He paſſed no day without doing ſomething that was ſweet, obliging and pious; but yet with that meaſure, as not to exhauſt the publick Coffers. Rarely any Eſtates were confiſcated into the Exchequer in his Time. He remitted the Tribute to ſeveral Cities, towards their publick Buildings. He lent Money out of the Exchequer at four in the hundred. And to a great many poor, he lent them Money without uſe, to purchaſe themſelves Grounds, under the condition of paying the Debt

Debt only in the Product. He added to his Captains of the Guards the Senatorial Dignity, which had ſeldom or never at all been done before in other times; becauſe it was inconſiſtent then, to be a Captain of the Guards, and a Senator, as *Marius Maximus* hath often obſerved. But *Alexander Severus* was willing that his Captains of the Guards ſhould be Senators for this reaſon, becauſe no body ſhould have the Power to judge a Senator, but who was himſelf a Senator. He had the Muſter-Rolls of his Armies in all Parts, always in his Cabinet by him; and when he was alone, he was reviewing their Accounts, Numbers, Actions, Officers, Stations, and Appointments; ſo that where-ever they were, he had a perfect knowledge of them, and upon occaſion, he mentioned a great many of their Names. He kept a Regiſter of all ſuch as merited to be conſidered for their Services. He refreſhed his Memory of things, by looking into his own Memoirs, in which he ſet down the dates, and who, and what every one was, and upon whoſe recommendation promoted. He aſſiſted the Convoys of the annual Proviſion of Corn for the People of *Rome* in that manner; that whereas *Heliogabalus* had diſſipated the Stores which were amaſſed in the Granaries, he re-eſtabliſhed them again at his proper Charge and Expence.

His Care of his Soldiery.

He encouraged the Merchants to come to *Rome* to Traffick, by allowing to them great Immunities. The quantity of the Oyl, which the Emperor *Severus* had gained to the City,

but which *Heliogabalus* had diminiſhed, by putting the Stores into the hands of Men, corrupted with all ſorts of Vice, he intirely re-eſtabliſhed. He ſet up a great many Mechanick Works at *Rome*. He tolerated the *Jews*, and the *Chriſtians*. He deferred ſo much to the Chief Prieſts, and to the *Quindecimviri*, and the Augurs, in Sacred Things, that after ſome Cauſes of that kind had been heard and determined by himſelf, he hath ſuffered thoſe Perſons to re-examin them, and to decide them otherwiſe. Such of the Preſidents of the Provinces, as he found that he ſhould truly eſteem, being Men of Integrity and Honour, and whoſe Praiſes were not directed by a Spirit of Faction, he always took in the Coach with him abroad, and made them Rich Preſents, ſaying, *That as much as others who are corrupt in their Governments ought to be turned out and beggered; theſe deſerve to be purchaſed and inriched.* The People of *Rome* petitioning him to lower the Prices of Proviſions, when they were one time at an exceſſive heighth; he asked what ſort of Proviſions particularly they were, that they thought too dear. They anſwered, Beef and Pork. Now he did not think fit to fix a cheaper Price upon them immediately, according to the Letter of their deſire; but inſtead of that, he ordered, that no body ſhould kill a Sow, Pig, Cow or Heifer, under ſuch an Age prefixt: And by this means, that which before was eight Pence a Pound, was at length brought down to two Pence.

He

He hearkened to the Complaints of the Soldiers against their Tribunes, in that manner, that if he found the Tribunes in a Crime, he punished them according to the Quality of it, without Favour. He made enquiry about all sorts of Persons by his secret service Men, whom he continually employed, to others unknown. He kept his Slaves always in the Cloaths of Slaves, his infranchised Men in the Habits of Free men. He suffer'd no Eunuchs to be in any Places about himself, but left them to serve his Wife in the quality of her Slaves. He reduced them to a certain Number, and suffered them to have to do with nothing in the Court, but the Baths of the Ladies; whereas *Heliogabalus*, who was the Slave of these Slaves, had preferred many of them to great Offices. He took from them even their antient Privileges; saying, *They were a third Species of humane kind that ought not to be seen or employed amongst Men, and scarcely neither amongst Women of Honour.* One of them particularly who had pretended to have an Interest in him, and had received of a Gentleman a hundred pieces of Gold to assist him in something, he crucified for an Example upon the High-way.

He slights the Eunuchs.

He changed several Prætorian Provinces into the nature of Præsidial Provinces, and disposed of the Proconsular Provinces according to the will of the Senate. He forbad the use of mixt Baths at *Rome* of both Sexes together, as they had been forbidden formerly under the Reigns of other pious Princes, till only *Helio-*

gabalus had revived them. He ſuffered not the Tax upon the Pimps, Whores, and Burdaſhes to be returned into his own Coffers, but he aſſigned it towards the Reparation of the Theatre, the Cirque, and the Amphitheatre. He had ſometime had the Thoughts of making a Law againſt the Burdaſhes, as the Emperor *Philip* afterwards did. But he was afraid that it would only occaſion more lewdneſſes to be coveted in private, becauſe Mankind run with a greater guſt upon ſome things when they are denied them; and the prohibition encreaſes the deſire to obtain. He impoſed a Tax upon the *Drapers*, *Glaſs-makers*, *Tanners*, *Lockſmiths*, *Silverſmiths*, *Goldſmiths*, and ſeveral other Crafts, out of which he ordered the Baths to be fitted and maintained for the publick uſe of the People. He furniſhed the ſame Baths with Wood and Oyl, for the Lamps in the Night, whereas before they were not uſed to be opened till Nine in the Morning, and at Sun-ſet were ſhut up again.

It is not altogether true, what ſome Perſons have writ, that his Reign was without Blood. For as the Soldiers had given him the Name of *Severus*; he made it appear in the Corrections that he exacted, that he had not that Name for nothing. He repaired the Works of the antient Emperors, and added many new ones to them of his own. Amongſt which are the Baths of his Name, hard by thoſe of *Nero*, which are ſupplied by an Aqueduct that carries alſo his Name at this day. He added thereunto a Plantation of a Grove, in the place

His publick Works.

place of a private Houſe adjoyning, which he bought, and afterwards expreſly pulled it down for this purpoſe. He finiſhed the Galleries to the Baths of *Antoninus Caracallus*, and adorned that whole Work. He firſt brought up the *Alexandrian* Work of Building and Paving with two ſorts of Marble together, the *Porphyry* and the *Lacedæmonian*; with which he adorned the Court. He ſet up ſeveral Coloſſuſſes in the City, faſhioned by the hand of the moſt excellent Artiſts that he could procure from all Parts. He made a great many Medals with impreſſes of his Portraiture, ſome of fine Braſs, but the moſt of Gold. He forbad Women of an ill Repute, of what Quality ſoever, to come to viſit his Mother or his Wife. He made many Harangues to the People, in places about the City, as heretofore the Tribunes and the antient Conſuls did. He thrice gave the People a Largeſs, and thrice the Soldiers a Bounty; and to the Bread and the Corn which he gave to the People in their Largeſſes, he added Portions of Fleſh.

He reforms the Intereſt of Money.

He brought down the Uſe of Money to four in the hundred, at the hands of the Money-changers, and the Uſurers themſelves. As for the Senators in this caſe, he firſt of all had ordered that no Senators ſhould take Uſe, unleſs it was ſome Preſent in the way of acknowledgment, for having aſſiſted a poor Friend in his Neceſſity. But afterwards he allowed them to take a moiety of the Uſe, which was paid to the Uſurers; but then nothing in the way of a Preſent at all. He tranſlated the

Statues of the great Men from all parts of the City, into the *Forum* of *Trajan*. *Paulus* and *Ulpian* were in ſingular eſteem with him, and the Captains of his Guards; the latter had been always his Counſellor, and both of them Aſſeſſors to *Papinian*. He had built a Royal Structure of his Name, betwixt the Field of *Mars* and the Bars of *Agrippa*, being one hundred Foot in breadth, and one thouſand in length, and ſupported all by Columns; but however, he could not perfect it, becauſe he was prevented by his Death. He beautified extremely the Temples of the *Egyptian* Deities, *Iſis* and *Serapis*, furniſhing them with Images, and Veſſels of the Marble of *Delos*, and with all the things belonging to the myſtical Ceremonies of that Worſhip. He was entirely affectionate and pious towards his Mother *Mammæa*; inſomuch, that he gave her Name to ſome Buildings which he added to the Palace at *Rome*; as alſo to a Royal Manſion, and to a Pond which he made at *Baiæ*, where they do ſtill retain it at this day. In the ſame place he built other magnificent Structures, and made Ponds of a prodigious greatneſs (by letting in the Sea, when he pleaſed) in honour of his other relations. The Bridges of *Trajan* he repaired almoſt in all places where they were; ſome he built New himſelf, but for thoſe that he had repaired, he ſtill continued upon them the Name of *Trajan*.

Other of his publick Works.

He was ſometime thinking to appoint unto every degree of Men, from Slaves to the higheſt Magiſtrates and Officers of all ſorts, a particular Habit,

Habit, whereby they ſhould be diſtinguiſh'd; which he ſaid, would be a Bridle, eſpecially upon all the Slaves, and would keep them alſo from mixing and confounding themſelves with the Free-People; but *Ulpian* and *Paulus* did not approve of this, becauſe, they ſaid, it would be an occaſion of a great deal of Miſchief, ſhould Men be eaſily diſpoſed to quarrel. So then he judged it was enough, that the Order of the Gentry ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from that of the Senators or Nobility, by the quality of their Gowns; the latter having their Gowns purled with Knaps or Studs of purple of a larger ſize, and the others with leſs. He permitted the Senators to wear within the City, againſt the Cold and the Rain, the *Pænula*, that is, a Hanging-Coat, which otherwiſe is a Veſtment only proper for the Road; but however, he forbad the Dames to uſe the like ſort of Wear, that is, Mantles within the City; but upon the Road, they might do, as they pleaſed.

His Attainments in Arts.

He had a greater Command of the Eloquence of the *Greek* Tongue, than of the Latin; and he made no bad Verſe. He loved Muſick, and was skill'd in the knowledge of Aſtrology, which was taught and publickly profeſſed at *Rome* by his Command. He was alſo very well verſed in the Science of the Soothſayers, both as to the Entrails of the Sacrifices, and as to the Flights and Notes of Birds; inſomuch, that he outdid in theſe, the *Biſcayners* of *Spain*, and the *Augurs* of *Pannonia*. He was a Geometrician; he painted admirably, he ſung very well, but yet never but in the hearing of his own Domeſticks.

meſticks. He writ the Lives of the good Princes his predeceſſors in Verſe; he played well upon the Harp, Flute, and Organ; he ſounded well upon the Trumpet, only he did not make this to appear after he was Emperor. He was the beſt at the Exerciſes of the Body of any of his time; thoſe of Arms he performed perfectly well; and how great a Captain he was, his Wars leave us no room to doubt, in which he acquitted himſelf ſo happily, and reaped ſo much Glory. He was only Thrice pleaſed to accept the Conſulate, and then he always ſubſtituted others to his place with the firſt opportunity. He was a moſt ſevere Judge againſt Thieves and Robbers; with all the rigour imaginable, he condemned them, and ſaid, *That they were ordinarily the occaſion of all the Crimes that were daily committed, and that they were the only Plagues and Enemies of the State.* A certain Clerk once having given in a falſe breviate to the Council, he ordered him to be cut into the Sinews of his Fingers, ſo, as never to be able to write again, and then to be baniſhed for ever. He ſet up Coloſſuſſes, and Statues, ſome on foot, and ſome on Horſeback, to the honour of the deified Emperors in the *Forum* of *Nerva*, with Inſcriptions upon Columns of Braſs containing all their memorable Actions, after the Example of the Marble Statues of the great Men, and the Elogiums of their Lives, which *Auguſtus* ſet up in the *Forum* that bears his Name. He deſired to appear to derive the Origine of his Blood from the *Romans*; for he was aſhamed

ſhamed to be called a *Syrian*; and was much affronted by that Name, by the People of *Antioch*, *Egypt*, and *Alexandria*, when once they called him, not only a *Syrian*, but a High-Prieſt, and a Ruler of the Synagogue, as if he was a *Jew* too.

Before I give an account of his Arms and his Military Expeditions, I will here premiſe a few things touching his particular Life, and his domeſtick Affairs. He had in his private Oratory within the Court; that is, there were indeed two Oratories there which he uſed, but this was the chief, and the holieſt, the Images of the ſeveral deified Emperors of the beſt Note, and the greateſt Virtue, together with which he had the Images of other pious Souls, whom he reſpected as Gods; and amongſt the reſt, *Apollonius Thyanæus*; and as a Writer of thoſe times alſo ſays, *CHRIST*, *Abraham*, *Orpheus*, and ſuch others, as likewiſe the Images of his own Anceſtors. Hither therefore in the morning early, if he had the leiſure, he came to perform his Devotions. But elſe, if he did not do this, he either took the Air in his Coach, or went a Fiſhing, or Hunting, or Walking, according to the quality of the place. After this, if he had time, he beſtowed himſelf for a good hour, to the care of the publick Affairs, which indeed required ſo much the leſs of his attention, as both the Military and the Civil Affairs were treated amongſt his Councellors, who were Men Holy and Faithful, and were never to be corrupted for Money; ſo that their Reſolutions finally paſſed, unleſs

His domeſtick Deportment.

unleſs he had offered ſomething himſelf that was New. But yet if neceſſity ſo required, he was ſet down to Buſineſs in a morning before it was day, and continued in it many hours, and never thought the time tedious, nor retired either more to appearance, pleaſed or diſpleaſed, than he came; his Countenance being always equal, and being of a Soul equally contented with every thing that paſſed. He was certainly one of a great Prudence, which was not to be impoſed upon in any thing; for though it were attempted with never ſo good a Grace, he diſcovered it, and obliged the Author to repent of his Labour.

After his application to the publick Buſineſs, whatever it was, Military or Civil, he imployed the greateſt part of his leiſure to Reading. He read the *Greek* Books, and amongſt the reſt, particularly thoſe of the Commonwealth of *Plato*. When he read in *Latin*, he delighted in nothing more, than the *Offices of* Cicero, and his Books upon the ſame Subject of a Commonwealth. Sometimes he read the Orators and the Poets, and amongſt others particularly, *Serenus Sammonicus*, who was one that he had perſonally known, and had much loved. He was much pleaſed with the Verſe of *Horace*. He read very much alſo the Life of *Alexander* the *Great*, whom he endeavoured to imitate; but in whom, he condemned his Drinking, and his Cruelty towards his Friends; if yet thoſe Imputations upon him are true, becauſe there are good Authors that do defend him, as to the one and the other, to whom

His addiction to Learning.

whom this Prince gave a great Credit. After Reading, he moderately employed himſelf in Exerciſes of the Body, as Wreſtling, Tennis, Running, or Fencing. Then he was anointed, and afterwards put himſelf into the Bath, which was ſeldom or never a Bath of warm Water, but of the natural Waters of cold Baths, where he continued about an hour, Faſting, he drank about a Pint and a half of cold Spring-Water. Then when he had done with the Bath, he took a Breakfaſt upon Bread and Milk, and Eggs and Wine. After this, when the hour of Dinner was come, he dined. Sometimes he deferred to eat till Supper, but for the moſt part he dined. And he was often ſerved with the *Oglio*, which was the great Diſh of *Hadrian*, and which *Marius Maximus* hath mentioned in his account of the Life of that Prince. *His bodily Exerciſes.*

In the Afternoon, he beſtowed himſelf conſtantly to the reading and ſigning of Letters and Orders to one part or other, in which he was attended by his Secretaries, and the Maſters of the Requeſts; whom, if they could not conveniently ſtand by reaſon of their indiſpoſition, he permitted to ſit down, whilſt the Clerks read over to him the things that they had writ, to which he added with his own hand what he thought convenient, and changed ſome Terms for others, that he thought were more elegant and more juſt. After theſe were diſpatched, he admitted the Company of all his Friends together, and ſpoke to them all, but he ſaw none of them ever alone, but his Captain of the Guards, and particularly *Ulpian*, whom

whom he had always had near him; to give him Light in the knowledge that he profeſſed of the things that concern Law and Juſtice. If he admitted any other privately to him, yet it was by the introduction of *Ulpian*. *Virgil*, he ſaid, was the *Plato* of the Poets. He had the Images of him and *Cicero*, in his ſecond or leſſer Oratory, together with that of *Achilles* and others of other great Men. But for that of *Alexander* the *Great*, he had conſecrated him amongſt the Gods of his chief Oratory, and the beſt Perſons, whom he more eſpecially honoured there. He never did an Injury to any of his Friends, nor to any of the Officers of State, or Servants of his Houſhold. He always deferred the Judgment of particular Affairs to the Captains of the Guards. And a Captain of the Guards, he ſaid, who hath done any thing to deſerve to loſe his place, ought rather to be ſecured and arraigned, than to be diſmiſſed. If at any time he diſcharged an Officer, he ordered it to be accompanied with a Complement, *That the State thanked him for his Service.* At the ſame time he failed not to gratify him in that manner, that he might live afterwards a private Life with Credit. He furniſhed him with Grounds, Oxen, Horſes, Corn, Iron, Materials to build himſelf a Houſe, and Marble to adorn it, and Labourers to aſſiſt him; Silver or Gold he ſeldom gave to any, unleſs it was to the Soldiers, ſaying, *It would be a Crime in him, who was the publick Steward of the People, to employ that in ſuperfluities, or upon the Pleaſures of himſelf or others, which the Provinces*

Provinces had contributed to ſerve the Neceſſities of the State.

He remitted the City of *Rome* the Duties which upon certain accounts they were to pay into the Exchequer, and particularly the Duty which they were to pay to him, according to Cuſtom, upon the occaſion of his elevation to the Empire. He conſtituted fourteen Curators to the ſeveral Quarters of the City, out of the Perſons of the Conſular Order, whom, together with the Governour of the City, he ordered to take the Cognizance of the Civil Cauſes, in ſuch ſort, that all of them, or the greater part, ſhould be preſent, when any thing was to be done. He diſtributed all the Vintners, Victuallers, Regraters, Hoſiers, and generally the Perſons of all Crafts, into Companies and Corporations, to whom he appointed Governours and Officers to judge in the Diſpatches that might ariſe amongſt them in the Matter of their ſeveral Crafts and Profeſſions. He never gave to the Players thoſe Gratuities which other Emperors have done. He made a difficulty to pay them their Salaries, and he took away from them the rich Cloaths which had been given them by *Heliogabalus*. His band of Archers or Penſioners, who were a Guard uſed for Pomp and Shew, more than for Service, he cloathed, not with rich, but yet proper and convenient Habits, without ſuperfluity; nor were his Standards or other Royal Habiliments rich; ſaying, *It was not for a Prince to ſeek his eſteem in fine Cloaths, but to recommend his Reign by Actions of Virtue and Bravery.*

His Kindneſs to the City of Rome.

As

As for himſelf, he wore the coarſe ſhagged Coats of the Emperor *Septimius Severus*, and Waſtcoats all plain, with no other embroidery of Gold at them, and only a ſingle Border of purple.

Moderation of his publick Entertainments.

In his publick Entertainments, he knew not what it was to be ſerved in Veſſels of Gold. His Cups were ordinary, but always very neat. All the Silver-ſervice of his Table, never exceeded the quantity of two hundred Pound in weight. The Dwarfs of either Sex, the Jeſters, the Singers, the Actors, the Mimicks, that had before retained to the Court, he gave away amongſt the People. And for ſuch of them as were of no uſe, he ordered them to be ſent to places, where they were maintained at the publick Expence, becauſe they ſhould not be troubleſome in the way of Beggars. The Eunuchs whom *Heliogabalus* had made his great Companions in Lewdneſs, and had promoted them to high Offices, he diſtributed amongſt his Miniſters, with this Order, that if for the future they did not return to good Manners, it ſhould be lawful for them to put them to death without attending the Authority of the Magiſtrate. Women of a Licentious Life, of whom he had heard that the number was prodigious, he ordered to be ſold, and the Burdaſhes baniſhed, with whom that Peſt *Heliogabalus* had taken his infamous, and abominable Pleaſures. Not a Servant in his time at a publick Banquet appeared in a Coat embroidered with Gold. To his private Table, he admitted either *Ulpian*, or ſome other Learned Men, whoſe

whoſe Converſation, he ſaid, was not only a Pleaſure to him, but it was Food to his Mind. At other times, when he eat alone, he had a Book with him upon the Table, where he read, and generally it was ſome *Greek* Book, though he read alſo in the *Latin* Poets. His publick Banquets were performed with the ſame ſimplicity as his private Repaſts; and no difference but in the greater Number of the Tables, and the Company; which ſometime being exceſſive, it rather offended him; ſaying, *it was like Dining in a Play-houſe, or in the Cirque.*

He took no pleaſure to hear the Orators recite Panegyricks, or the Poets Verſes in his own Praiſe; ſaying as *Peſcennius Niger* had done, *That it was an idle thing.* But Orations or Verſes upon the Praiſe of the great Men amongſt the Antients, he heard freely, and was very well pleaſed, when either they had *Alexander* the *Great* for their ſubject, or ſome of the excellent Emperors his Predeceſſors, or of the virtuous Perſonages of *Rome* in the antient times. He often went to hear the Rhetoricians, and the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets in the publick Schools upon ſuch Subjects. He loved to hear alſo the eloquent Pleadings of the Advocates at Law, whether before himſelf, or before the Governour of the City. It was very agreeable to him to preſide at the publick Games; particularly thoſe that are in the Honour of *Alexander* the *Great.* He deſired to be retired ordinarily after Dinner, and in the hour of his Levee. He never ſaw Perſons alone, as I have ſaid, and it was for this reaſon, becauſe

His Reſpect for Alexander *the* Great.

he had found, that they, to whom he had ſometime granted that favour, had miſrepreſented their Converſation with him to the World. Particularly *Vetronius Turinus*, was one, who had very much abuſed the Familiarity, which he had treated him with. He diſhonour'd the Empire of *Alexander*, as of a Man, that was ſo ſtupid and ſo impertinent, that he governed him which way he pleaſed, and made him believe whatever he would; and this he pretended to make all the World believe, in order only to advance the Credit of his Intereſt, and ſo to Cheat them by the means out of their Money. But at laſt *Alexander* ſurpriſed him with this Artifice. He ſent a Perſon to addreſs himſelf to him publickly for ſome thing; but afterwards to take him aſide, and to pray him to ſpeak ſecretly in his favour: who promiſed him that he would; and afterwards aſſuring him, that he had done his Buſineſs to the Emperor, when really he had not ſpoken one word to him about it, and acting the ſame falſe part over again a ſecond time, and all the while exacting and receiving great recompences for his Services. The Emperor, who was made acquainted with all that had paſſed, cauſed him to be accuſed and proſecuted; and proving to him before all the World, upon Evidence, what Sums he had received, and what empty Promiſes, and falſe Reports he had made to his Client to Cheat him out of the ſame, he Condemned him to dye, and the manner of his Execution to be thus; that he ſhould be tied to a Stake, and there

Vetronius Turinus *his Folly and Puniſhment.*

there be quite ſmoaked to death with green Wood and Stubble; the Common Cryer in the mean time Proclaiming his Words were Smoak, and ſo he dies with Smoak. For this was not the only Fact of the kind that he had committed. The Emperor for fear of appearing Cruel, had made a particular ſcrutiny into his Life before he Condemned him; and found that he often had received Money of both ſides in Cauſes, whereof he undertook the Protection; and had ſold the Events of things, in which he had had no part, and taken Money of all, who had been admitted to the Offices of Prætors, or other conſiderable Charges in the State.

With a great Retinue did this Emperor often go to the Publick Shews; but he was extremely ſparing of his Liberality to the Actors, and ſaid, *That thoſe Publick Charioteers, and Huntſmen of the Cirque, and the Players of the Stage, ought to be ſo entertained, as we do the Servants, Huntſmen, Coachmen, and Jeſters of our private Families.* In his Repaſts he was neither Sumptuous, nor too Frugal: his Table was neither ſplendid nor mean; but very proper without any ſuperfluity. His Carpets, ſometimes trimmed with Studs of Purple or Scarlet; but never of Cloth of Gold; as *Heliogabalus* had uſed; and as ſome ſay before him, it had been uſed by the Emperor *Hadrian*. In a word, his Table was ſerved always with great moderation. He indulged himſelf the moſt in Fruit. He eat very heartily, and ſo did he alſo drink; but without exceſs. He waſhed always in cold Water, and

His Moration in his Living and Diet.

in the Summer he drank of the Wine of the infuſion of Roſes; which was the only thing that he had retained, of all the fine Wines and Methods of the invention of *Heliogabalus*.

It is obſervable, that he was every day ſerved at his Table with a Hare. Now there is an uſual ſaying with ſome, that *Eating of Hare will make one Fair for ſeven days following*; as it is ſignified in that Epigram of *Martial* which he writes to a Lady, whom he calls *Gellia*; who, always, (he ſays) when ſhe ſent him a Hare, told him, how Fair it would make him for ſo many days. To which he replies very ſeverely again upon her; *That if it was true, what ſhe ſaid, certainly ſhe had never eaten of a Hare in her life.* (Lib. 5. Ep. 30.) So from this vulgar conceit, a Poet in the time of *Alexander Severus* took occaſion to ſay, in two or three Verſes, *That as he was a* Syrian *born, it would be a Miracle to ſee him ſo Fair and ſo Handſom as he was, if he did not eat Veniſon and Hare continually to make him ſo.* The Emperor being told of this by ſome of his Friends, it is ſaid, That he returned this anſwer; *That ſo ſorry a Poet was welcome to think him Handſome from any thing. But he only wiſh'd him to eat upon nothing but Hare, till it had done as much for him; and then he would envy no body.*

After the laſt ſervice, he drank once to the Health of his Friends, and the honour of the memory of *Alexander the Great*. Women he uſed moderately; and as for the diſhoneſt Amours of the other Sex, he was ſo free from them, that as I have already ſaid, he was ſometime

time thinking to intirely prohibit them by a Law. He eſtabliſhed publick Magazines in all the Quarters of the City of *Rome*; whither thoſe, who had not Conveniencies of their own to lodge their Proviſions, might carry them, and have them lodged there with ſafety. He added Publick Baths to all the Quarters of the City, where before they were wanting; many of which retain his name at this day. He built very good Houſes to give them to his Friends; eſpecially ſuch as had lived always without reproach. He moderated the publick Impoſitions, ſo that he brought them down to the thirtieth part of what they were under *Heliogabalus*. To which purpoſe he founded a new Coin of the value of the third part of an *Aureus*, that is a Crown of Gold; and could he have moderated the Impoſitions ſtill more, he would have founded another new Coin of a Quarter Crown: but when he found that the publick Neceſſities of the State could not admit a Fall ſo low, he let that matter alone. The large Gold Coins of the value of two, three, four, ten, fifty, and ſome a hundred *Aurei* a piece, which *Heliogabalus* had founded, he ordered to be ſuppreſſed, and melted as Coins which particularly had this inconvenience with them, they put the Emperor upon occaſions of laviſhing away more money than otherwiſe he would. Becauſe when his money is in leſſer pieces, he can moderate his Bounty better as he pleaſes.

Not ſumptuous in his Apparel.

He ſeldom wore Silks, and Velvets never; nor allowed them to any in their Salaries; nor gave them in Preſents. He envied the Riches of none. He aided the Poor; eſpecially Gentlemen that he ſaw were really decayed, and yet had not brought their misfortune upon themſelves by their Luxury, he always befriended as much as he could: giving them Grounds, Servants, Cattle, and Utenſils for Tillage. He viewed all the Habits himſelf that he gave away to others, and often weighed his Gold and his Silver. He gave to the Soldiers Shooes, Boots, Breeches, Coats and Cloaks. The *Alexandrian* Purple which is ſo exquiſite, is ſo called at this day from him; becauſe it was his Dier that invented it. Not that *Alexander* uſed it neither at all himſelf; but it was a fine Wear for the Ladies, and he obliged them to pay well for it. He often uſed a Cloak of Scarlet; but yet in *Rome*, and in the Cities of *Italy*, he was always in a Gown. He never put on the *Prætexta*, nor the *Toga Picta*, that is, Robes of State ſo called, but when he was Conſul; and then they were the common Robes which are preſerved for the purpoſe in the Temple of *Jupiter*. Only, when he Sacrificed in the quality of the Soveraign Pontiff, then he put on alſo the *Prætexta*. He loved plain Linen, without Embroidery, with either Purple or Gold. For the Purple, he ſaid, did but make it rough; whereas the excellency of Linen is it ſmoothneſs: and the Gold made it worſe, that is ſtiff. His Stockins were always either Linen, or Woollen;

Woollen; and his Breeches White, not Scarlet; contrary to the Cuſtom of the Emperors before him, whoſe Mode had been Scarlet.

The Jewels and the Pretious Stones that he had, he ſold; and put the money into the Treaſury; ſaying, it was not for Men, to wear Jewels. He obliged the Princeſſes Royal to content themſelves with one String of Pearl; ſome Pendants for the Ears, one Necklace of Pearl, one Coronet, when they aſſiſted at the Sacrifices, or Sacrificed themſelves; one Gown, Embroider'd with Gold, and one Petticoat with not above ſix Ounces of Gold. He did himſelf the Office of a Cenſor, upon the Manners of the Age. The Great Men imitated him, and the Ladies of Quality followed the example of his Wife. He diminiſhed the number of the Officers of his Houſhold: in which he made ſuch a Reform, that he retained no more Servants in any of the Offices than neceſſity required. And therefore becauſe his Servants were few, and his whole Service of Silver that he had, was not above two hundred pound weight, when ever he made any publick Banquet, he borrowed both Plate and Servants of his Friends. He never admitted the Diverſions of the Stage-Players at his Banquets. He diverted himſelf the moſt in the Aviaries, that he had built in the Court. Where he had Peacocks, Feaſants, Pullets, Ducks, Partridges, and Pidgeons. Of the latter particularly, it is ſaid, that he had to the number of twenty thouſand. And becauſe their Feeding ſhould not be a burden upon

the Publick *Stores*, he had Servants that maintain'd them out of the Profit that aroſe from the Eggs, and the young that they produced.

He often Bathed, both in his own Baths, and in thoſe of the Antients, in Company with the People, eſpecially in the Summer, returning from thence to the Palace in his bathing Habit, with only a Scarlet Cloak thrown over him, to mark his Dignity. His Running Footmen were always ſome of his Slaves: ſaying, a Freeman ought never to Run, but in the Sacred Games. His Cooks, Fiſhermen, Fullers, and Bagnio-men, were always alſo Slaves; into whoſe places, as they fell, he bought others. There were in all ſeven Phyſicians to the Court under his Reign: the chief of whom received a more extraordiry allowance. When he appointed any Perſons to the Preſidentſhips of the Provinces, he furniſhed them according to the Antient Cuſtom, as *Cicero* calls it in his time, with Money and Neceſſaries, that is, a Preſident of a Province received in Silver twenty pound weight, eight Mules, a couple of Horſes, two Gowns, one wearing Suit, one bathing Suit, a hundred pieces of Gold, one Cook, one Coachman; and if he had never a Wife, he was allowed one Concubine: but then at his return he was obliged to reſtore again all the Mules and the Horſes; and the Coachman and the Cook, retaining the reſt, if he had comported himſelf well. But if ill, he was obliged to reſtore fourfold; beſides the Conſequence of being Condemned for Embezelling

His Ordering of his Servants and great Officers.

ling the Publick Goods and Money, and for cheating the State; and in Actions also of Recovery, on the part of the particular Persons, by him unjustly used.

The Laws, that he made, are infinite. He permitted all the Senators to have their Chariots, and their Coaches at *Rome*, silvered over: believing it to be for the Honour of the *Roman* Name, that the Senators of so great a City should appear abroad in such Equipages. The Consuls, the whole year round, whether the two first appointed upon the Calends of *January*, whose names were entred upon the Records; or the others, the secondary ones, who were appointed every two Months afterwards, were all Nominated and Created by him, with the Advice of the Senate. He regulated their Expenses; and revived and Reestablished the days for their Elections, every two Months, in due Order. He ordered that the Quæstors, at their entrance into their Offices, should make the accustomed Presents to the People, at their own Expence; and that after their Quæstorships, they should be raised to be Prætors, and in Consequence to go to Administer the Government of the Provinces. He suffered the Officers who had the Guard of the Coffers of the Treasury, to be furnished with Mony to make their Publick Shews to the People out of the said Coffers: but this was to be done however with great management. He had it sometime in his thoughts, so to dispose those Publick Shews throughout the whole year, that the People should be entertained with them once

once in every thirty days. But why he did not do it, is a thing that remains under the obſcurity of ſilence. Upon the ſeventh day of the Week, if he was in Town, he went always for his Devotions to the Capitol. At other times he went often to the other Temples. He was willing to have built a Temple unto Chriſt; and had a deſign to receive him into the number of the Gods, as it was alſo ſometime in the thoughts of *Hadrian*, it is ſaid, to do; who had expreſly order'd, in all Cities, Temples to be built without Images; which at this day being left unfiniſhed and unconſecrated are called the Temples of *Hadrian*: who had however diſpoſed them for this purpoſe: but then he was hindred from proceeding any further by thoſe who having conſulted the Affairs of Religion had found, that all the World would turn Chriſtian, if this thing was once ſuffered, and the other Temples would be deſerted.

His Regard to Chriſt.

He made very pleaſant Railleries; and was of an agreeable Converſation: and he was kind and gracious in his Entertainments; in which it was permitted to ask him, whatever one would. He was intent upon the amaſſing of Money, Prudent in preſerving it; and Ingenious to find it where it was; but however without doing a prejudice to any. He would not be ſaid to be a *Syrian*; but boaſted himſelf to be Originally a *Roman*, by thoſe from whom he had the Honour to Deſcend; and whoſe Genealogy he drew, in which he ſhews, that his Family was Deſcended from the *Marcelli*.

To

To the Rhetoricians, Grammarians, Phyſicians, Soothſayers, Aſtrologers, Geometricians, and Architects, he appointed Salaries, and Publick Schools to Teach in, and ſent them Scholars, that is, Children of a free condition, but of little or no Fortunes; for whoſe Education he allowed them himſelf. He deferred a great deal alſo in the Provinces to the Advocates at Law, and where he hath found, that they have Pleaded Gratis, which a great many did, he encouraged them, and gratified them. He confirmed the Laws from year to year, and carefully kept them in his own Perſon. He went often to take the Divertiſement of the Stage, and had deſigned to repair the Theatre of *Marcellus*. To ſeveral Cities, that had been defaced by Earthquakes, he allowed Money out of the Taxes towards the Rebuilding of their Publick and Private Edifices. He never employed but very little Silver upon the Temples, and not one Leaf of Gold; having always in his Mouth that Verſe of *Perſius*,

——— *In Sacris quid facit Aurum?*

That is, What ſhould Gold do in ſacred matters?

I come now to ſpeak of his Expeditions of War; which I ſhall do in their order: And in the firſt place I ſhall obſerve what his Cuſtom was, as to theſe, for things, that were to be held in ſilence, and others that he diſcover'd. He never diſcovered the ſecret Deſign; but yet the day that he was to march upon, was two Months before Proclaimed in a Pub-

Publick Edict in these words; *Upon such a Day, and such an hour I shall depart from this City; and by the help of the Gods I shall march the first day to such a place*; and so he told his several Stations and Encampments in order; and marked the places, where he was to receive in Provisions, as far as till he arrived upon the Frontiers of the Country of the Barbarians: for from thence all things were hushed, and all marched without the Barbarians being able to know the design of the *Roman* Army. It is certain, that he never was deceived in any design that he proposed; because his Counsels were never sold by his Courtiers; as all things under *Heliogabalus* had been by the Eunuchs; who are a sort of Creatures that will be always Prying into all the Secrets of the Court, to the end to appear to be the only Persons from whom nothing is hid; that they may obtain by that means what they desire; whether it is to satisfie their Vanity, or their Avarice. In the mean time, in his Choice of Persons to be either Governors, or Procurators, or Controllers, or other great Officers in the Province, he first proposed their names to the People; and desired them, that if they knew any Crime of which they suspected and charged any of those Persons to be guilty, he should be put to justifie himself by certain Proofs; or otherwise answer for it, with his Head. For it was not a thing fit, he said, *That the Christians and the* Jews *should do this for the recommendation of their Priests, that are proposed to be Ordained; and that it should not be done as to the*

His Choice of Publick Officers.

the Governours of Provinces, unto whom are committed the Fortunes and the Lives of ſo many Men.

He appointed Salaries to thoſe that are called Aſſeſſours; attending upon the Governors of the Provinces: but yet he often ſaid, That *ſuch Perſons eſpecially ought to be promoted to the Government of the Provinces, who know how to Govern by themſelves, and not by Aſſeſſours:* adding, *that the Men of the Sword have their Adminiſtrations proper to them; and the Men of Letters theirs; and ſo every one ought to act according to the knowledge that he hath.* Treaſure that had been hidden and was found, he gave away amongſt ſuch as had found it: only if it was very much, he added ſome of his Courtiers to them. He took their names down in Writing, and refreſhed his memory therewith upon any occaſion, to whom he ever gave any thing: and if he knew ſome, that had askt him nothing, or very little, whereby to augment their Fortunes, he ſpoke to them and ſaid, *What is the matter, that you ask me for nothing? Do you intend to make me your Debtour? Ask me, for fear I ſhould be reduced to be a private Man again, and then you ſhould complain of me.* What he beſtowed by way of Gifts, were Eſtates of Malefactors Condemned, excepting the Gold, Silver, and Jewels; for all that was remitted into the Coffers of the *Exchequer.* Then he diſpoſed of the Offices in the Army, and the Governments of the Provinces, and other Civil Offices in the Provinces: where he changed his Receivers from time

His prudent Liberality.

time to time. Not one of them accompliſh'd a full year; indeed he hated them, though they might be Men of Honeſty too; becauſe, he ſaid, *They were Neceſſary Evils.* As for the Preſidents, Proconſuls, and Generals, he never made thoſe by Favour, or with the ſingle deſign to enrich them: but he made them either by the Judgment of the Senate, or the beſt of his own.

His Care of his Soldiers. He diſpoſed his Armies in the time of an Expedition, ſo that they received their Proviſions in the places where they rendevouz'd; without carrying with them Subſiſtance for more than ſeventeen days; unleſs it was in the Country of the Enemy, and there he alſo aſſiſted them with Mules and Camels; ſaying, That *he deſired to look more after his Men, than himſelf; becauſe the Publick Safety was in them.* He viſited them (when Sick) in their Tents; even thoſe of the loweſt Ranks; and cauſed them to be carried upon Waggons, and to be ſupplyed with all ſorts of Neceſſaries. But if they were too Sick to Travel, he recommended them to the care of the good Houſekeepers, and the virtuous Women in the Cities and the Villages, where he paſſed; to whom he paid the Charges of their looking after, whether they recovered or died.

Story of Camillus. *Ovinius Camillus*, a Senatour of an Antient Family, had once the Vanity, being conceited on that account, to think of Revolting, and ſetting up himſelf to be Emperor. Which being Diſcovered, and certainly Proved to *Alexander Severus*, he ſent for him to the Court.

Telling

Telling him, *That he gave him Thanks, that he was ſo willing to take upon him the Care of the Empire; how contrary ſoever it was to the Sentiments of others, that yet were good Men.* So he took him with him to the Senate, and called him his Colleague. In the mean time *Camillus* was in the greateſt Confuſion and Remorſe of Conſcience. He received him afterwards into the Court; and admitted him to his Table, and Habited him with the ſame Imperial Ornaments, or better than his own. Then the War againſt the *Perſians* being declared, he asked him if he would go to it and bear him Company. They began their march together on Foot; *Severus*, earneſtly inviting him to bear the Fatigue with Patience. But after five Miles walking, *Camillus* tired; and then *Severus* ordered him a Horſe. After two days more march, he was tired again with his Horſe; and then *Severus* put him upon a Carriage; but yet neither did this make him eaſie: but whether it was with Fear, or that he truly deſired no more of the Glory that attended thoſe Travels; he Abdicated the Empire with all his Heart, and would rather have died than continued in it. Then *Severus* diſmiſſed him, and ſent him under a Guard, whom he deſired to take a care of him, Home, to his own Houſe in the Country in ſafety; where he afterwards lived a long time; but was at laſt killed by the Soldiers, but yet without the Command of the Emperor, who had altogether gained his Heart, and had treated him with ſo much Humanity. I know very well,

well, that this hath been thought amongſt the Vulgar to have been the Action of the Emperor *Trajan*. But ſince neither *Marius Maximus* hath taken any notice of it, nor *Fabius Marcellinus*, nor *Aurelius Verus*, nor *Statius Valens*, who have all of them written the Life of that Prince: And on the contrary, ſince *Septimius*, *Acholius*, and *Encolpius*, who have written the Life of *Alexander Severus*, and all others that ſpeak of him, have remarked this Action to be his; I hope that the Authority upon which I alſo do ſo, will appear to be of more Weight and Credit; than vulgar Fame, and any common Rumour of the People.

He never ſuffered Offices, to which belong'd Power of Life and Death, to be ſold: ſaying, *He that Buyes, muſt neceſſarily Sell again in his turn. But I will have no Merchandiſe made of the Powers of that Nature; ſhould I ſuffer them, it would not be in my power to Condemn them. For I ſhould be aſhamed to puniſh a Man that Sells as he Buyes, to make up his Accounts.* He made Ordinances touching the College of the Chief Prieſts, the Commiſſion of the *Quindecimviri*, or fifteen Prieſts for Religious Affairs, and the College of the Augurs; which merited to be received in the Senate. The *Chriſtians* having gotten into the Poſſeſſion of a certain Publick Place for the Exerciſe of their Religion, and on the contrary the Company of the Cooks and Victuallers claiming the ſame, and pretending that it of right belonged to them; he decided the matter betwixt them by his Reſcript in theſe words; *It is better rather than to leave*

He favours the Chriſtians.

leave a place to the Cooks, to give it to Men that will Honour God in it, let it be in any manner whatſoever.

The Manner of his Perſian Expedition.

With theſe great Qualities therefore both for Peace and War, this Emperor entred upon an Expedition againſt *Perſia*; in which he Comported himſelf with that Diſcipline, and that conſideration for the Dignity of the Empire, that it was ſaid, they were more like ſo many Senators, than Soldiers that he brought with him. Where-ever the Legions marched, the Tribunes, the Centurions, the Soldiers were ſo quiet, ſo modeſt, and ſo belov'd for their Diſcretion; and then the Preſence of their Prince was accompanied with ſo many excellent Qualities; that the People of the Provinces conſidered him as a God. And certainly the Soldiers loved him, as if he was their Brother or their Son; and infinitely reſpected him as their Parent. They were handſomely Cloathed, and nobly Armed: their Cavalry well mounted, and compleatly Furniſhed and Caparifoned: ſo that to ſee the Army of *Alexander Severus*, it was enough to give one an Ideа of the Grandeur of the *Roman* Empire. He particularly, with all his Power, endeavoured to appear worthy of the name that he carried, and which is more, to ſurpaſs the *Macedonian* of the ſame: and ſaid, *That there ought to be a great difference betwixt* Alexander *of* Rome, *and* Alexander *of* Macedon. He had Companies in his Army, as that *Macedonian* had, that were armed with Shields of Silver, and Shields of Gold. He made a *Phalanx*, con-

ſiſting of thirty thouſand Men, whom he called by the name of his *Phalangieres*; by whoſe means he did a great many Noble Exploits in *Perſia*. This *Phalanx* was compoſed of Six Legions, who were all equally well armed, and for their great Services judged worthy to be all at double Pay after the end of the War of *Perſia*.

The Royal Preſents, which were made him, he beſtowed upon the Temples; but Jewels he ſold: becauſe he thought it was an Effeminate thing to keep Jewels; which are neither fit to be given amongſt the Soldiers, nor to be worn by a Man of Bravery. An Embaſſadour having preſented his Wife, the Empreſs, by him, with two *Unions* of a great Weight, and an extraordinary Size, he ordered them to be ſold; but there was no body to be found to come up to the Price. And for fear that they ſhould draw from the Empreſs herſelf, an ill Example, if ſhe uſed a thing that was not to be Purchaſed, he Dedicated them to ſerve for Pendants to the Ears of a Statue of *Venus*. His Protectour in his Minority was *Ulpian*; to whom his Mother *Mammæa* was at firſt averſe; but afterwards ſhe thanked him, when ſhe ſaw that her Son had attained to be ſo great an Emperor, by following eſpecially his Counſels, in the Government of himſelf and the State. And yet *Ulpian* laboured under the ill will of the Soldiers; and but that the Emperor defended him, certainly they would often have murdered him in his Preſence. In all his Marches, and all his Expeditions, he dined

dined and ſupped in Publick, with his Tents open for all the Soldiers to ſee him, which pleaſed them well. He eat the common Ammunition Bread, and made the Round in every Quarter, and ſuffered no one whatſoever to be abſent from his Colours. If in Marching any one had but ſtepped aſide to take the leaſt thing from the Inhabitants of the Country, where-ever it was, he was either beaten with Rods in his preſence, or condemned in a Mulct; or if his Quality had ſet him above this, he reprimanded him himſelf publickly, to make him aſhamed, and ſaid, *Would you be willing that this ſhould have been done upon your own Eſtate, which you do to another's?* It was a great Expreſſion with him at all times, *Do not that to another, which you would not that another ſhould do to you*; whether he had heard it from the *Jews* or from the Chriſtians, he retained it well, and it was altogether conformable to his Sentiments. Therefore he ordered it to be proclaimed by the common Cryer, when he corrected any Perſon. He loved it ſo, that he made Inſcriptions of it upon his own Palace, and upon the publick Works. *His ſtrict Diſcipline*

Having been told once that a poor old Woman had been outragiouſly injured by a Soldier, who was by Trade a Carpenter, he not only caſhiered him the Army, but gave him to be the Woman's Slave, to maintain her ever after, by his Labour. And though the Soldiers complained of this, he perſuaded them all to ſupport with patience ſuch an Example of Mi-

litary Diſcipline, and at the ſame time he made them to fear him. His Reign was without Blood in this Senſe, that he ſpilt not the Blood of any one of the Senators, as the *Grecian* Hiſtorian *Herodian* hath obſerved; but yet he ſhewed a great deal of ſharpneſs, and of ſeverity in his Reign; and eſpecially, he was ſo rigorous upon the Soldiers, that he often diſcarded entire Legions of them at a time; never fearing the Mutineers of his Army, becauſe he knew that they could ſay nothing againſt his Life, nor could reproach him, that the Tribunes or the Captains under his Authority, had ever retained any thing of their Pay from them. *And when a Soldier is well cloathed and armed, his Belly full, and ſomething in his Purſe, then,* he ſaid, *it is that he the moſt fears you; for it is Neceſſity that reduces Soldiers to all ſorts of Deſpair.* In fine, he ordered the Officers of the Army to be waited upon by none but Soldiers, whoſe Number was limited; that is, he ordered, that there ſhould be four Soldiers to march always before a Tribune, ſix before a Commander, and ten before a General.

An inſtance of his ſteady Severity.

Now to the end to ſhew you his Severity, and how he carried himſelf in his Affairs with his Soldiers, it will be convenient to give you one of of his Harangues that he made to them. When he was come to the City of *Antioch*, and had been told one day, that ſome of the Soldiers had put themſelves into the Baths there with the Women of Pleaſure, he ordered them all to be taken, and laid in Irons. This being

ing known to the Legion unto which thoſe Soldiers belonged, they were all immediately in a Mutiny. He called a Council of War, and the Priſoners being all brought before him, and all the other Soldiers ſtanding round about him in their Arms, he ſpoke thus;

My Fellow Soldiers,

I Hope, you will be eaſily perſuaded to diſallow with me, the things that have been committed by ſome of your Comrades. For the Diſcipline of our Anceſtors is what muſt neceſſarily take place here, if we would preſerve the State. For when once that Diſcipline is loſt, then adieu to the Glory of the Roman *Name, and the* Roman *Empire. Nor is it to be ſuffered, that Men ſhould take the ſame Liberties in my Reign, which lately they did under the Debaucheries which were committed in the time of the impure* Heliogabalus. *Shall the* Roman *Soldiers, your Comrades, and my Fellow-Companions in Arms and War, Drink, Bath, Whore, and live in all the ſoft and luxurious ways of the* Greeks, *and ſhall I endure this long, and thoſe there, ſhall I not puniſh them?*

With this the Tumult increaſed, and they ſet up a Clamour againſt him. But he went on and ſaid;

Nay, keep your Clamours to terrifie your Enemy in the Field, and beſtow them not in vain upon your Emperor. Certainly your Maſters who firſt taught you Arms, have told you, that you are to cry out ſo againſt the Sarmatians, *the* Germans,

the Perſians *your Enemies, and not againſt him who out of the Contributions of the Provinces feeds you, and gives you Cloaths, and gives you your Pay. Forbear then that ſavage Noiſe, which is only fit for Battel, leſt in a word, and in a breath, this day I break you all, and ſend you home to your Houſes, ſcarcely with the Name of* Romans: *For how deſerve ye, to be of the number of the leaſt of the Common People of* Rome, *unleſs you acknowledge the Right of the Laws of the* Roman *Empire.*

Here they began to grow worſe, and to menace him with their Swords. He went on;

Threaten your Enemy, and turn your Arms againſt thoſe, if you are ſo Valiant; me you do not affright with it: and ſhould you kill here a ſingle Man, the Empire, the Senate will not be wanting to me, the People of Rome *will revenge me.*

They ſtill murmuring not the leſs for this, he cried with a loud voice, *I diſband you, be gone, and lay down your Arms.*

After theſe words, they all laying down their Arms, and diſcharging themſelves of their Military Accoutrements, by a wonderful Example, retired every one, not to the Camp, but up and down to the Inns, which was the firſt time that he made it appear what his Severity could do. In fine, his Guards that had attended upon his Perſon, took up the Standards that the others had laid down,

down, and carried them to the Camp, and their Arms were gathered up by the People, and brought to the Palace. But however, this Legion which he had thus caſhier'd, in thirty days afterwards, upon Interceſſion made for them, before he ſet forward to engage the *Perſians*, he reſtored again to the ſame Rank which they had held before in the Army; and the Bravery which they in particular ſhewed upon that occaſion, in which they did Wonders, was the great thing that gained him the Victory. Some of the Officers, in the mean time, he had not ſpared to puniſh with death, becauſe it had been by their negligence, that the Soldiers had been ſo debauched with the Pleaſures of *Daphne*, and becauſe they had not taken the Care that was ſufficient to have hindred this Sedition of the Army.

He marched from the City of *Antioch* to give Battle to the *Perſians*, well provided, and with great magnificence. *Artaxerxes*, the moſt Potent King of *Perſia*, came againſt him with ſeven hundred Elephants, one thouſand and eight hundred armed Chariots, and a Body of Horſe of many thouſands. But the Victory was on the ſide of the *Roman* Emperor, who in the Fight viſited the one and the other Wing, and encouraged the Soldiers, and was often within Perils himſelf, and ſignalized his Valour with his own hand. After which, he returned again to *Antioch*, and made his Army rich with the Booty that they took, and the Depredations that he permitted the Tribunes, the Captains, and the Soldiers to make upon

He defeats the Perſians.

the Provinces of the Enemy. The *Perſians* then firſt began to ſubmit to the Dominion of the *Romans*. But becauſe the Kings of *Perſia* think it an Indignity for thoſe that belong to them to be made Slaves, he ſent their Ranſoms, and the Priſoners were reſtored, and the Money given either to ſuch as had taken them Priſoners, or elſe put into the Treaſury

He triumphs. After this noble Expedition he came to *Rome*, where he received the honour of a Triumph, performed with great Magnificence, and then he made this Speech to the Senate upon the occaſion; which I have taken out of the Journal of the Senate, upon the ſeventh day of the Kalends of *October*.

Fathers of the Senate,

WE *have vanquiſhed the* Perſians, *and we have no need of any great Eloquence to recount the particulars to you. You may pleaſe only to know, what their Arms were, and how well provided they came. They came with ſeven Hundred Elephants, and this is the firſt time that we have ever ſeen in the Field ſo great a Number; and theſe carried Towers upon their backs full of Archers, and Loads of Arrows. Three Hundred of theſe we took, Two Hundred more were killed upon the place and Eighteen we have brought hither with us. Then they had Eighteen Hundred Chariots, armed with cutting Scythes. We could have brought with us of thoſe Chariots Two Hundred, whereof the Beaſts were killed. But however, we thought fit to forbear that, becauſe*

cauſe it is an eaſie thing to make them ourſelves. We have cut in pieces an Army of a hundred and twenty thouſand Horſe; and ten thouſand Compleat Cuiraſſiers, with whoſe Spoils we have armed our Men. We took a great number of the Perſians *Priſoners, whom we have ſold. The Country of* Meſopotamia, *betwixt the two Rivers of* Tigris *and* Euphrates, *which had been ſo neglected by my Impure Prodeceſſour,* Heliogabalus, *we have Re-conquered and received into our Obedience. We have put the moſt Potent King* Artaxerxes, *as he is entituled; but who is ſo in effect, as well as by Name, to flight. The Country of* Perſia *beheld him flying; and in the ſame place, where the* Romans *heretofore in the defeat of* Craſſus *loſt their Banners, the* Perſians *now have left us theirs. You ſee, Fathers of the Senate, what we have Atchieved; the Subject needs no Eloquence to adorn it. The Army is come home Rich. None think their Pains too great, that Conquer. It is for you to appoint Publick Thankſgivings to be made upon this occaſion; to the end that we may not ſeem ungrateful to the Gods for the ſucceſs of our Arms.*

The Acclamations of the Senate followed.

The Gods preſerve our Emperor, Alexander, *Conquerour of the* Perſians. *We Congratulate your Majeſty, your moſt great Victory; your Majeſty hath merited moſt truly the Name of Conqueror of the* Perſians *and* Parthians. *The Gods ſave you. We behold your Trophies. We ſee your Victory. All thanks to our young Emperor; the Father*

Father of his Country; our Soveraign Pontiff. By you we will hope for Victory over the Germans. *By you we will hope for Victory from all Parts. Your Majesty takes the way to Conquer. You Command the Soldiers. The Senate is enriched. The Army is enriched. The People of* Rome *are enriched by your Majesty.*

Then the Senate Adjourning, he went from thence to the Capitol: where having performed the Sacred Ceremonies, and Dedicated to the Temple of *Jupiter* some Armour of the *Persians* to be hung up there, he spoke to this purpose to the People.

Citizens and Commons of *Rome*,

I *Have overcome the* Persians, *and my Army is returned Rich home with the Booty that they have made. We promise to give you a Largess; and to Morrow we will give you the Games of the Cirque, on the occasion of our Conquests.*

This is the account of this Expedition, which I have found upon the Annals, and in the Works of many Historians. And as for what some say, on the contrary, That *He was betrayed by a Slave, and instead of Conquering* Artaxerxes, *fled, for fear of being Conquered himself*; or particularly what *Herodian* says, *That* Artaxerxes *lost his Army by Famine, Cold, and Sickness*; in which Opinion he is very singular, I leave them to be contradicted by the Judgments of all such as have

have Read, and are beſt acquainted with this Hiſtory.

After all theſe things, full of Glory, accompanied by the Senate, the Order of the Gentry, and all the People, through Crowds of Women and Children on all ſides, and above all the Soldiers Wives; contemplating his Preſence and his Meen, and obſerving him as he paſſed with admiration. He marched from the Capitol to the Palace, on Foot; followed by a Triumphal Chariot, drawn by four Elephants. He was ſo born up in the Hands of all People; that he ſcarce finiſhed this Space in four Hours, and from all ſides they cried, how happy is *Rome* in ſuch a Prince. The following day, was ſpent in the Games of the *Cirque*, and the Diverſions of the Stage. And then he gave the Poor a Largeſs; and Eſtabliſhed Penſions for the maintenance of the Children of the Poor, according to an Example of *Antoninus Pius*; and in the Honour of his Mother *Mammæa*, thoſe Children were called the *Children of* Mammæa.

His Succeſſes by his Generals.

The Affairs of the Province of *Mauritania Tingitana* in *Barbary* had been in the mean time very ſucceſsful under *Furius Celſus*; as were thoſe of the Province of *Illyricum* under *Varius Macrinus*, his Kinſman; and thoſe of *Armenia* under *Junius Palmetus*: ſo that from all places they ſent him Letters, Crowned with Lawrels; which being publickly Read to the Senate and the People, he found himſelf adorned and ſaluted by all the Titles that could appertain to him. Therefore as for

Men

Men that had behaved themſelves ſo well in the Provinces, committed unto their Government, and yet had never been Conſuls, he appointed them the Honour of wearing the ſame Marks and Ornaments, as thoſe that had. He put them into Eſtates, if they were Poor and advanced in years; and gave them Places in the College of the Prieſts. He gave the Captives that he had made of divers Nations, amongſt his Friends; unleſs they were of Royal Blood, or of more than Ordinary Quality; and then he Deputed them to the Services of War, but in no great Poſts. The Lands of the Enemy, which were Conquered upon the Frontiers, were given by his conſent amongſt the Officers and Soldiers; under a Condition that their Heirs after them ſhould be obliged to take to Arms; and that thoſe Lands ſhould never come to Perſons of another Condition; becauſe he ſaid, that the thoughts that they were to defend their own Eſtates, would make them fight more freely: He furniſhed them with Cattle and Servants, neceſſary for Tillage; leſt either through the want of Hands, or the Old Age of the Poſſeſſors, the ſaid Places ſhould come to be abandoned again; which he thought would be a thing very ſhameful.

After theſe things, foraſmuch as he lived in a great love and eſteem of the Senate and the People, they were unwilling to let him go to the War againſt the *Germans*, although they all hoped for Victory from his Arms. *Gallia* was at this time inceſſantly ravaged by the

the Incurſions of that People: which was a matter of great trouble to the State, and to himſelf; and that which yet encreaſed their reſentments, was, that after the reduction of the Country of *Meſopotamia*, and the defeat of the Forces of ſo great a People as the *Perſians*, the Nation of the *Germans* ſhould now menace the Heads of the State, which yet had been always ſubject to Emperors, that had not Reigned with ſo much Glory. So he enterpriſed this Voyage by great Marches, and all the Soldiery were very much pleaſed with it. But yet meeting again in *Gallia* with ſome Mutinous Legions, which he rejected; and the *Gauls* being of a Temper to be hot and fierce, and often troubleſome to their Emperors, they could not find themſelves diſpoſed to ſupport a Treatment which was ſo ſevere, eſpecially after ſo ſoft a Reign as that of *Heliogabalus*; And whether that it was they, or *Maximin* that had ſet Aſſaſſines upon him, he was killed at a Village called *Cecil*, in the Province of *Bretagn*; not by a conſent of all, but by a party of Soldiers, who took their opportunity to do it, when he had few Perſons about him. At the ſame time they inveigh'd outragiouſly againſt him and againſt his Mother; as a Covetous Woman, earneſt to amaſs Riches; and by whoſe Counſel he had acted in all things. He Reigned thirteen years and nine days; and had lived twenty nine years, three months and ſeven days. And his Mother *Mammæa* was killed with him.

The

Omens of his Death. The Signs that fore-ran his death, were these. Upon the Anniversary of his Birth-day, as he assisted at the Sacrifice, the Beast, which was the Victim, betook itself to its feet, and would have escaped in its blood: and rushing into the Company, where the Emperor was, it left some of its blood upon his Robes. A large and old Laurel, at a certain place where he passed to the War, dyed on a sudden. Three Figtrees, to which his Tent had been fastened, and which were of those sort, that they call the *Alexandrian* Figs, dyed also on a sudden. A Woman, that was a *Druid* cried after him in her Language, You may go; but never hope for Victory, nor trust to your Army. He began an Harangue, that he made to his Soldiers, before he went to seek the Enemy, with these fatal words; *The Emperor* Heliogabalus *having been killed.* But all these things however he mightily despised; and putting himself upon his March to meet the Enemy, he was killed at the Place above mentioned.

He had Dined that day, as it was his Custom to do, Publickly, and had eaten of the common Bread, and Provisions of the Army; nor, when his Tent was searched and ransackt, was there any thing extraordinary found in it. After Dinner, as he had reposed himself to Sleep a little, which was about the hour of One, a Spy of the Conspirators, that belonged to the Guards, had entred into his Tent, and had found him awake; but every body else asleep: and the Emperor seeing him, said;

ſaid; *What is the matter, my Friend: any News of the Enemy?* The Man withdrew to his Confederates, and ſpurred them on to the Enterpriſe, by the excellency of the Opportunity, which offered itſelf. So a great number of them immediately broke in, and cutting off every one they found, they came to the Emperor, and ſtruck him ſeveral times through the Body; of which he died inſtantly. Some ſay, that there was not a word ſpoken; but only the Soldiers cryed to him, Away with you! Be gone.

Maximin, who ſucceeded him, and who carried on the War againſt the Enemy ſerved himſelf, for that purpoſe, of all the Military Preparations of this Prince. Amongſt the reſt, eſpecially of all the Auxiliaries of the *Armenians*, *Meſopotamians*, *Parthians*, and others out of the Eaſt; becauſe being excellent Archers, none were of greater uſe againſt the *Germans*, than they.

His contempt of Death had ſhown itſelf not only in that fierceneſs, with which he had always humbled the Soldiers; but alſo in this. That when *Thraſybulus* an Aſtrologer, who was his particular Favourite, had told him; that his Fate was to dye by the *Sword of the Barbarians*, he was glad of it, in the Opinion which he had, that he was like to dye in the Field of Battel; which he *thought a death worthy of an Emperor.* Then he argued upon it, and obſerved, *what excellent Men in all times, have died Violent Deaths*, in which number he recounted the *Great Alexander* of his own name;

name; *Pompey*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Demosthenes*, *Cicero*, and other famous Persons; so that he desired no greater Honour than to die in the Field of Battel. He believed that it would make him comparable to the Gods. But he mistook the Prediction, for he died not in the Field of Battel; although it was in the time of a War; and yet died by the *Sword of a Barbarian*. For that Spy, who had first broken into his Tent, was a *German*, and one that killed him.

The rest of the Army were sensibly touched at his death, and revenged it upon the Authors of it: and the People of *Rome*, all the Senate, and all the Provinces never resented any thing worse. Nor were they less astonished, when they heard that he was succeeded in the Empire by *Maximin*, and his Son. Wherein all the World judged very well the hard necessity of his Destiny; because they saw a Man raised to his place, who was of no Birth nor Breeding, and whose gross Rusticity gave them an occasion to apprehend all things. The Senate Consecrated him a God; and a Monument was Erected to his Memory in *Gallia*, whilst his Body was interred in a most Noble Sepulchre at *Rome*. His Priests were appointed, as likewise his Festival; which is at this day Celebrated with great Devotion. But some pretend to say, that the occasion of his Murther was; because by his Mother's advice he was for quitting the War against the *Germans*, and for returning, out of Vanity, with her again into the East. But to say the truth,

I take

I take this to be nothing but a Fiction of the Creatures of *Maximin*; to the end, that it should not be thought that so very good an Emperor had been killed by their Friend, contrary to the Laws of God and Man.

Hitherto the Empire of the People of *Rome* hath had for the most part Princes, whose Reigns have been in their duration something considerable. But after *Alexander Severus* arose many, who as they had hastily rusht in, so they were as hastily, one after another, driven away from the Throne again. For some Reigned half a year; some a year; others perhaps reached to two years; but three is the most, till we come to those Princes who [illegible]extended the bounds of the Empire; I would say *Aurelian*, and those that follow; of whose Lives, as much as we can find to be said hereafter; we shall not fail to write and publish it.

That which is Condemned in *Alexander Severus*, is; that he denyed his Native Country, and would not at all pass for a *Syrian*; that he loved Money; was extremely Suspicious; invented many new Taxes; desired to appear as another *Alexander the Great*; was too severe upon the Soldiers; and was too inquisitive into the Affairs of particular Persons. But as for those who deny, that he had not been Created a *Cæsar* by the Senate, but by the Soldiers; or that he was the Cousin German of *Heliogabalus*; they are greatly mistaken; and to see their error, let them peruse, as we have done, *Faults of Severus.*

the Hiſtorians of his time; eſpecially *Aebolius*, who is very particular upon him.

Your Majeſty, O moſt Sacred Conſtantine, is pleaſed many times to ask; from whence it comes, that a Stranger and a *Syrian* did make ſuch an excellent Prince; when ſuch a great number of others of *Roman* Blood, and out of the Provinces of the Empire, that have Reigned, have been Wicked, Impure, Cruel, Abject, Unjuſt and Diſſolute. I humbly deſire therefore your Majeſty to obſerve, as to this; that according to the Sentiments of good Men, Nature which is the Common Mother of us all, is ſufficient to Act in this ſort, and ſo he might be Born a good Prince. But beſides, he had an Example immediately before his Eyes, of a very ill Prince that was killed, and after his Death diſhonoured; and the fear which is ſuggeſted by ſuch a Fate, could not but have an influence upon him, to make him better. But becauſe theſe Reaſons are a little remote, and too general, and I am ſenſible, that I ought to ſuggeſt the Truth to Your Majeſty, I ſhall refer my ſelf to your Royal Goodneſs, and your Clemency, in declaring what at leaſt I have read upon this Subject. Your Majeſty remembers very well, what no doubt you have ſeen in *Marius Maximus*; that a State in which the Prince is himſelf bad, but his Counſellours good, is in a better Condition, and in much greater Safety, than when the Prince is good, but his Counſellours are bad. For certainly one ill Genius may very well be Amended and Corrected by many, that are good.

good. But a great many, that are all bad, will never be Corrected by one, let him be never ſo good. And this is what was once ſaid by *Homullus*, unto the Emperor *Trajan*; where he compared the Examples of *Claudius* and *Domitian*, with one another. *Domitian*, he ſaid, was a very ill Prince, but yet he had Counſellours that were good. *Claudius* was not ſo ill a Prince as *Domitian*; but his Counſellours were bad. But yet *Claudius* was of the two the moſt hated in his time. And certainly it is always better to ſuffer under the weight of one that is bad, than under many.

But to return to my purpoſe. It is true, that *Alexander Severus* was a very excellent Perſon himſelf; and was alſo directed by the good Counſels always of his Mother, who was a very excellent Woman; which laſt thing alone is certainly a great Argument of his goodneſs. But beſides all this; he was ſerved by Counſellors who were Holy and Venerable Perſonages: without Malice, without Faction, without Knavery, without inclination to Evil, without Animoſity againſt the Virtuous; without Diſſoluteneſs, without Cruelty, without deſign of Surpriſing, or Mocking, or making a Property of their Prince. But full of Integrity, Venerable, Continent, Religious, lovers of their Prince; they expoſed nothing that he did; nor ſuffered it in others: they made a ſecret Gain to themſelves in nothing; they falſified nothing; they Diſſembled nothing; they never betrayed him; and they loved, and advanced his Reputation. Add to this another thing, that

Character of his Counſellors.

he Baniſhed the Eunuchs from his Counſels, and his Service; as being the only Creatures who ruin Princes. For it is they, that have put them upon the living after the Examples of Foreign Nations; and the Mode eſpecially of the Kings of *Perſia*; that ſow Diviſions betwixt the beſt Prince and his People; that are Spyes from ſide to ſide; and report an anſwer contrariwiſe often, than it is given, and keep their Prince lock'd up, and carry all things ſo ſecretly, that he knows nothing. For being but Slaves bought with a Price, how ſhould we expect better from them? *No*, ſaid *Alexander Severus*, *My Captains, Conſuls, and Senators, ſhall never lye at the mercy of Slaves, that are bought and ſold.*

I am ſenſible, *Great Sir*, of the danger which there is in ſpeaking theſe things before an Emperor, who ſhould repoſe himſelf in ſuch hands as theſe, and ſhould be the Slave of theſe Slaves. But our Felicity is, that as ſoon as Your Majeſty had well underſtood, what Miſchiefs theſe Peſts do bring along with them, and how they Circumvent the Princes whom they ſerve; You, out of your Royal Care to the Intereſts of the State, have reduced them to that paſs, that you ſuffer them not to continue within your Houſhold; not ſo much as to be your Menial Servants.

Another eminent thing, which Contributed to the Felicity of *Alexander Severus*, is this; that he ſaw no one at the Court alone, unleſs it was his Captain of the Guards, and particularly *Ulpian*. For otherwiſe he had always

ways Company preſent; to the end, to give to no Perſon whatſoever an opportunity of repreſenting their Converſation with him falſly to others, nor of ſpeaking ill of others to him. Eſpecially he did this after the Correction, that he took of *Turinus*; who had often vaunted of ſpeaking things to him, which he never did; and of receiving anſwers from him, which he never gave him; and this, only to ſqueeze Money, and enrich himſelf by that means out of the Pockets of his Clients; though at the ſame time he made a Cully and a Fool of his Maſter.

To all which we muſt add, that if *Alexander Severus* had found, that either his Counſellors or his very Relations had done ill, he puniſhed them; or if the Obligations of his former Friendſhip with, or his nearer Alliance to them, did not ſuffer him to puniſh them; yet he ſent them from him; and ſaid, *The whole State is dearer to me than theſe.*

Now if your Majeſty pleaſeth to know by Name, what Men they were, whom he called to his Counſels, this is a Liſt of ſome of them.

A Liſt of his Counſellors.

Fabius Sabinus, the Son of another famous *Sabinus*; a Perſon of ſublime Virtue; and the *Cato* of his time.

Domitius Ulpian, a moſt Eminent Profeſſor of the Law.

Antoninus Gordianus, the Son of the Emperor *Gordianus*, and afterwards Emperor himſelf, a Perſon of great merit.

Julius Paulus, a most excellent Professor of the Law.

Claudius Venatus, an Oratour of a profound and diffused Eloquence.

Pomponius, an Eminent Professor of the Law.

Alphenus.	*Africanus.*
Florentinus.	*Martianus.*
Callistratus.	*Hermogenes.*
Venuleius.	*Triphonius.*
Mætianus.	*Celsus.*
Proculus.	*Modestinus.*

All Professors of the Law, and sometime the Scholars of the most Renowned *Papinian*. They all were the Familiar Friends of this Prince; as both *Aebolius* and *Marius Maximus* assure us.

Catilius Severus, his Kinsman, a very learned Person.

Ælius Serenianus, the most Holy Person of his time.

Quintilius Marcellus, than whom all History does not afford a better Person.

All these therefore, and others, to them suitable, being his Counsellors, and unanimously Conspiring to the good of the State, what could there be done or imagined to hurt it? It is true, that in the beginning of his Reign, for some days a multitude of ill Persons, of whom the Court was full at the death of *Heliogabalus*, had neglected no means to engage his Affections in their own favour. But his early Prudence discovered them: *He*

nipt

nipt them in the Bud, and drove them all from him; and then formed himself a Council of such Holy and Upright Members, that They very much guided him, who was otherwise a Stranger, and a *Syrian*, to be that good Prince that he was. Whereas, on the contrary, those ill Princes, whom your Majesty hath observed to have been *Romans*, labouring under the misfortune of ill Councils also, that made them yet worse; we Have them delivered down to us, heavy laden with a Burden of Vices, of those of their Counsellours, and those of their own.

FINIS.

FINIS

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